

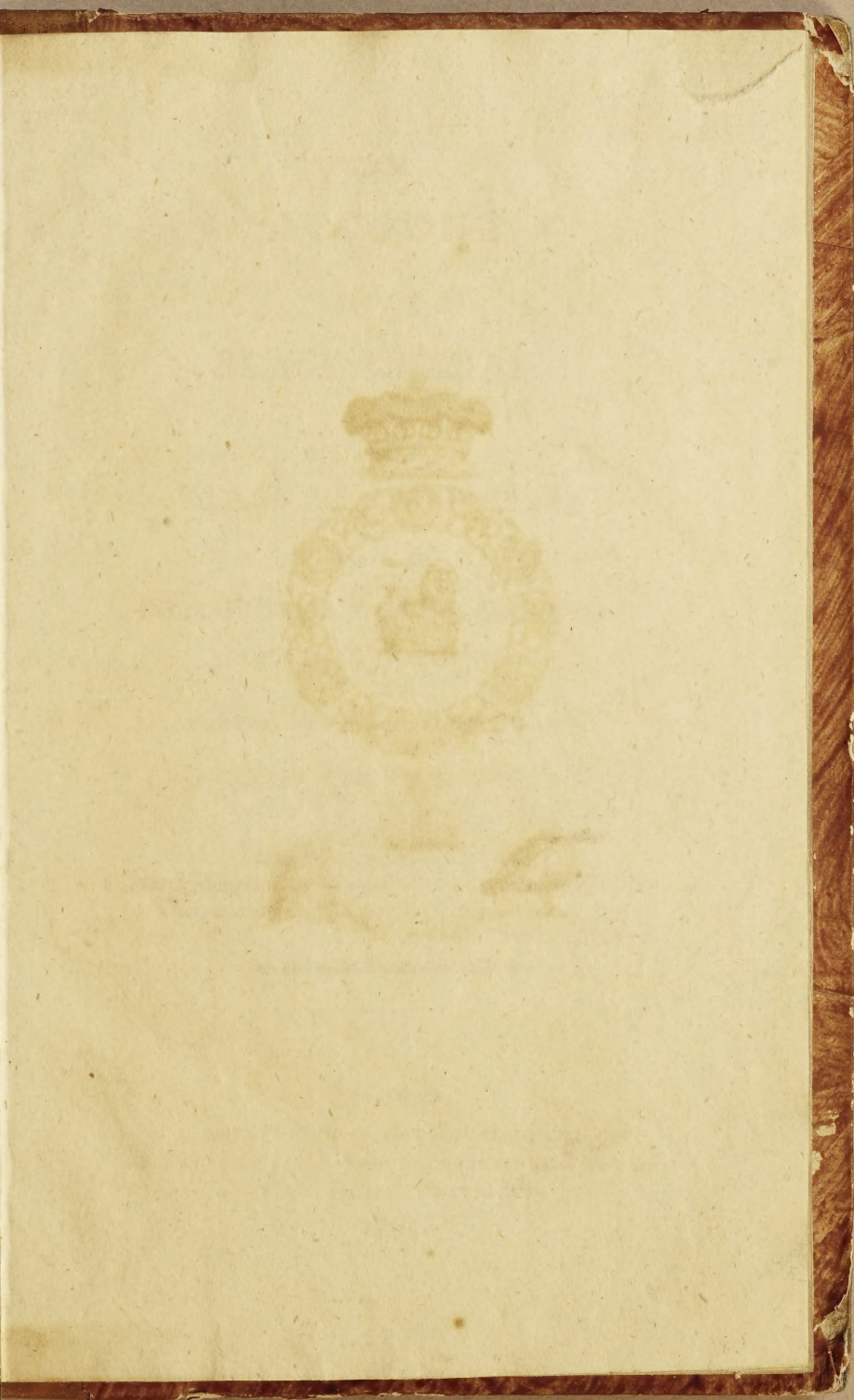
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*Robins and Heath - Patent Engraving Press, Plate.*



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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
BLACK CHARAIBS  
IN THE  
ISLAND OF ST. VINCENTS;  
WITH THE  
CHARAIB TREATY OF 1773, AND OTHER  
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

COMPILED FROM THE PAPERS OF THE  
LATE SIR WILLIAM YOUNG, BART.

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In omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit inju-  
riam, tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur.

SALLUST. BELL. JUGURTH.

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1795.

ACCOUNT

BLACK CHAIRS

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RPJCH

TO  
DREWRY OTTLEY, ESQ.

AGENT FOR THE ISLAND OF ST. VINCENT'S.

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DEAR SIR, *Huntercombe, Sept. 20, 1795.*

UNDERSTANDING that the commission with which you are entrusted from the colony of St. Vincent's, relates more especially to the late insurrection of the Black Charaibs, and to the measures to be taken in consequence ; I feel it a public duty, which I owe to the country at large, and to my brother planters of St. Vincent's in particular, to publish the result of an examination into original papers, which the official situation of my late father hath sup-

DEDICATION.

plied me with ; and which may elucidate the claims, the character, and the conduct of the Charaibs in relation to the British Government, and help to decide the public opinion, together with that of his Majesty's Ministers, on the important subjects which you have to submit to their consideration. The details subsequent to the treaty of 1773, I have endeavoured to compile from the best information : of their accuracy no one can better judge than yourself.

I am with great regard,

DEAR SIR,

Your faithful friend and servant,

W. YOUNG.

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
BLACK CHARAIBS.

---

THE late insurrection of the Black Charaibs in the island of St. Vincent's, hath much drawn the public attention to a consideration of the conduct, and of the claims of those people.

The Charaibs have been regarded by some persons in Great Britain as an independent nation, the original and rightful possessors of the island of St. Vincent's; and as a people impelled by wrongs, and inflamed by resentment, to acts, which however cruel, may bear the name of retaliation.

The Charaibs, it is contended by others, had no original right in the soil of the

country, but that the right was directly conferred from the British crown, under which they swore allegiance, and have received constant protection, and repeated favour.

By our British fellow-subjects in St. Vincent's, it is represented that the late attack upon them by the Charaibs was wholly unprovoked ; and that in its operation cruelty and perfidy were so blended, that no future confidence can subsist ; and that *the sole alternative remains, of themselves, or of the Charaibs being removed from off the face of the island.*

A question of so desperate resource, implies the operation of too many vindictive passions, too much retaliation of ravage and of bloodshed in the interval, ere it is decided, to admit of delay.

Yet a question which affects the rights and comforts of the one people, or the lives and properties of the other, cannot be urged precipitately : an authentic and

full information of facts, whereon to found a correct judgment, is indispensable on so awful an appeal to the public justice of the country, and to the correct administration of its government.

The purpose of the present undertaking is to supply such necessary information, and the narrative intended to connect and elucidate the general subject, is no further recommended to attention, than as it appears founded on original authorities; as it is supported by public documents, or as it may be attested on evidence, which a British court of justice would admit as competent, and decide upon as true.

Early in the seventeenth century, the King of England made claim to the island of St. Vincent's, as an appendage to his sovereignty of Barbadoes.

Charles I. comprised it in the grant of Barbadoes to the Earl of Carlisle; and Charles II. in the year 1672, confirmed

the grant to Lord Willoughby of Parham, who had purchased the property of Lord Carlisle.

In the year 1722, George I. made a new grant of the island of St. Vincent's to the Duke of Montague.

No rights of sovereignty, further than wooding and watering seem, however, at any time, to have been exercised by the English on this island; and by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, the king for a time waved his claim, and St. Vincent's was declared by the crowns of Great Britain and France to be thenceforward a neutral island.

In 1763, by the 9th article of treaty of peace, France cancelled so much of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle as related to the neutral islands; and St. Vincent's was adjudged and confirmed to the crown of Great Britain.

During the agitation of these claims by France and England, the island of St.

Vincent's was occupied, and contested by two nations of people of very different origin and pretensions: by the Red Charaibs, or aboriginal Indians, and by the Black Charaibs, or colony of African Negroes.

The Red Charaibs had a tradition, that their forefathers came from the banks of the Oronooko, whence coasting Trinidad, and Tobago, to Grenada, and thence by the Grenadines, they arrived at St. Vincent's, subdued the native inhabitants, called Galibeis, and possessed themselves of the island: according to their ancient custom in war, they put their male prisoners to death, but preserving the women, incorporated themselves with the Galibeis; and the present race may be considered, on one side at least, as descendants of that nation, and aborigines of the island.

These Red Indians were the only inhabitants of St. Vincent's at the time of

the assertion of sovereignty by Charles I. or II. and of the grants to Lord Carlisle or Willoughby.

The Negroes, or Black Charaibs (as they have been termed of late years), are descendants from the cargo of an African slave ship, bound from the Bite of Benin to Barbadoes, and wrecked, about the year 1675, on the coast of Bequia, a small island about two leagues to the south of St. Vincent's.

The Charaibs, accustomed to fish in the narrow channel, soon discovered these Negroes, and finding them in great distress for provisions, and particularly for water, with which Bequia was ill supplied, they had little difficulty in inveigling them into their canoes, and transporting them across the narrow channel to St. Vincent's, where they made slaves of them, and set them to work.

These Negroes were of a warlike Moco tribe from Africa, and soon proved res-

tive and indocile servants to the less robust natives of the western ocean.

The Charaibs, incommoded by the refractory spirit of their slaves, and apprehending danger should their numbers increase, came to a resolution of putting to death all their male children which should be born ; still, according to their national custom in war, reserving the females.

This cruel policy occasioned a sudden insurrection of the Blacks, who massacred such of the Charaibs as they could take by surprise, and then fled, accompanied or followed by their wives and children, to the woods and rocks which cover the high mountains to the north-east of St. Vincent's.

In these almost inaccessible fortresses they found many other Negroes from the neighbouring islands, who, murderers or runaways, had fled from justice, revenge, or slavery.

Incorporating with these Negro outlaws, they formed a nation, now known by the name of Black Charaibs; a title themselves arrogated, when entering into contest with their ancient masters.

The savage, with the name and title, thinks he inherits the qualities, the rights, and the property, of those whom he may pretend to supersede: hence he assimilates himself by name and manners, as it were to make out his identity, and confirm the succession. Thus these Negroes not only assumed the national appellation of Charaibs, but individually their Indian names; and they adopted many of their customs: they flattened the forehead of their infant children in the Indian manner: they buried their dead in the attitude of sitting, and according to Indian rites: and killing the men they took in war, they carried off and cohabited with the women.

To the latter practice of either people

is to be attributed the tawney and mixed complexion to be met with occasionally among the Charaibs.

The Black Charaibs (as they may be henceforward termed) were soon impelled by hunger, and urged too by revenge, to make incursions from their rocks and woods into the fertile vallies inhabited by the Red Indians.

The mountaineer in bodily strength, as in every other advantage of predatory attack, must ever be superior to the inhabitant of the more plain and open country. The Red Charaibs felt the inequality of the contest, and in the year 1700, recurred for assistance to the governor of Martinique ; a French island which they were accustomed to visit in their canoes, for purposes of petty traffic in provisions and fish, for utensils, tools, and ornaments.

The governor of Martinique did not venture to commit his sovereign by a

direct and open interference: yet whilst he dared not assert the title of France, he plotted and effected a lasting opposition to that of England: with a policy most insidious, and in its remote consequences (and perhaps at this very hour) fatal to the British interests in St. Vincent's, he took upon him to arbitrate the claims of the Black and Red Charaibs, and to divide the island between them. He drew a geographic line, still called "Le Barre de l'Isle." To the Red Indians he awarded the western, to the Blacks the eastern moiety of the island; and these titles so conferred, though avowed by none, and acknowledged by none, grew shortly into prescription in the short memorials of a savage people, and perhaps are not now to be cancelled but with the strong arm of conquest and control.

The appointment of the governor of Martinique, though apparently adhered

to in respect to claim of territory, by no means insured peace. The Black Charaibs still continued their inroads, to destroy the Red Charaibs, and carry off their women, and seemed in full career to the extirpation of the original Indians; when, for self-defence, they invited several fishermen and other French adventurers to settle among them; affording them every inducement, surrendering to them their richest spots of grounds, and shewing them the most convenient situations on the banks of rivers, or on the coasts. About the year 1710, the French had thus got considerable footing on the island of St. Vincent's, and possessed scattered plantations throughout the whole of the leeward country.

The prosperous state of these French settlements served but to incite avarice, and induce adventurers to further usurpation of the country.

In 1719, a Mr. de Bucq having the ear of Mr. de Fouquier, governor of Martinique, persuaded him to engage in the enterprize of seizing St. Vincent's, forming plantations in the eastern quarter, and reducing the Black Charaibs to what he termed their original state of slavery, and setting them to work, acquire for themselves at once great and productive estates in the island.

Mr. de Fouquier approved the scheme, and sent Mr. Pullen, lieutenant du roy, at the head of 400 volunteers to assist Mr. de Bucq in the expedition. This little army landed, and penetrated into the hilly country, when suddenly they were surprised by a discharge of arrows and musquetry from a concealed enemy. Mr. Pullen, with many others, were killed ; the rest fled in dismay, and unmolested reached the coast, where they immediately reimbarbed for Martinique ; and thus ended this truly buccaneer en-

terprize, which was hushed up, and for the time buried in oblivion.

In 1723, the English made an expedition to St. Vincent's of a more just and peaceable nature, but with equally ill success.

George I. having made a grant of St. Vincent's to the Duke of Montague, Captains Uring and Braithwaite were sent to explore the state of the country.

Captain Braithwaite landed, and was admitted to a parley at different times and places with the two nations of Black and Red Charaibs. The former appears to have been much the most numerous. The person whom Captain Braithwaite terms, in his report, the *General of the Indians*, was surrounded by about an hundred armed men at the audience. The person he calls the *Chief of the Negroes*, was supported by 400 men in arms; and those nearest his person had muskets and cutlasses. Both parties seemed

under influence of the French, spoke with respect, and even awe of the governor of Martinique ; and both parties declared their resolution to oppose the English settlement, and pretensions of English sovereignty. This was a natural result, from the common cause and common interest, artfully framed by French *intruders* with Negro *usurpers* ; whilst the Red Charaibs were in fact at the mercy of either, and mere instruments of their purpose.

Captain Braithwaite, not being prepared for force, found it in vain to persist ; and the English made no farther attempt at actual settlement, until after the peace of Paris in 1763.

The French, from the date of their fruitless enterprize in 1719, never made any hostile attempt on St. Vincent's ; nor did they take any active part in the Charaib wars ; but feeding the necessities of either party, and supplying them with

arms to destroy each other, quietly and artfully extended their settlements on the leeward side of the country.

The Red Charaibs, little equal to a personal contest with the ferocious inhabitants of the Eastern district, and as little able to cope with the insidious policy of encroachment by their French inmates, from year to year decreased in numbers and in territory.

The French having acquired the best parts of the leeward country, seemed inclined to extend their settlements to windward, but the jealousy of the Black Charaibs would not permit an European to fix near their boundary, and much less within the country they called their own.

In 1752 Mr. Perain, secretary to the governor of Martinique, built a house on some lands which he had purchased on the extreme territory of the Red Charaibs. The Blacks came down and burned the house, and destroyed the plantation; and

no attempt was afterwards made to settle on their confines.

The French having no legitimate title to their plantations in St. Vincent's, and no authority to appeal to for support or protection, had their only resource in conciliating and gaining an influence over the minds of the Black Charaibs; as well for the purpose of internal peace, as for defence against European claims; on each assertion of which the Charaibs might be pushed in front, as on the expedition of Braithwaite, and thus cover the usurpations of the French adventurers.

An island situate in the centre of the Caribbee seas, peopled by French freebooters, and by Indians in French interest, was moreover a favourite object of French policy, and underhand abetted in its independance by the ministers and agent of that power.

The governors of Martinique at all times gave every assistance to the adven-

turers at Vincent's in their schemes to attach and form a communion of interests with their Charaib neighbours; they helped to conciliate them by occasional hospitalities at Martinique, and they gave them presents, and supplied them with arms: they sent missionaries amongst them to dazzle them with ceremonies, and entertain them with festivals; and they availed themselves of the enthusiastic temper of a wild and free people, to promote a communion of interests and passions, under covert of religion.

There is too much reason to suppose, that the priests who were employed made no strong impressions of Christian charity and mercy on the mind of these Charaib converts; but they baptized them, and called up a superstitious affection in each Charaib for the priest who christened him, and for the godfather who named him. A spiritual consanguinity was thus vamped up between Jean Bap-

tiste the Frenchman, and Jean Baptiste the Charaib: and it now appears how deeply rooted was the French influence, which grew out of these artifices and policy. Under these circumstances, and with these disadvantages, St. Vincent's was annexed to the British crown, by treaty of peace with France in 1763.

The island was at that time inhabited by about 3000 Black Charaibs, or free Negroes, by 4000 French (their Negroes included), and by about 100 Red Charaibs, or Indians; so reduced were that aboriginal people!

#### SAINT VINCENT'S

Being now acknowledged, as claimed, *a British island*, Nov. 13th, 1763, it was declared, in a speech from the throne, "That immediate colonization of the ceded islands was in view; and that the lands were to be granted out on

“ terms of sale, and the monies arising  
 “ therefrom to be applied to national  
 “ purposes.”

Commissioners were immediately appointed to carry the plan of settlement into effect ; and their instructions were made out and signed Dec. 6, 1764.

Sir William Young, who was appointed at the head of the commission, had early in that year published, with the approbation of government, an essay, encouraging adventurers to embark their fortunes and industry in the new islands, and more especially recommending the fertile soil of St. Vincent's.

In this pamphlet, the commissioner apprized of the benevolent spirit and intentions of the British government, says,  
 “ That when the Black Charaibs of St.  
 “ Vincent's are duly apprized of the hu-  
 “ manity and generosity of our gracious  
 “ Sovereign, and assured of the enjoyment

“ of their lands, freedom, favour, and protection, they may be gained over to our cause, and even rendered useful.”

The humane caution of his Majesty's ministers in framing the instructions, dated Dec. 6, 1764, tallies with the above representation of the commissioner: the 20th section directs, “ That no survey should be made of lands occupied or claimed by the Charaibs until further instructions were sent out.”

The commissioners, on arrival in St. Vincent's in the ensuing year, perceived the Charaibs to be so much under the influence and direction of French councils, that, in order to facilitate some arrangement with them, it was found advisable to recur to those in whom they had confidence.

On the first intimation that St. Vincent's was to be ceded to Great Britain, the Charaibs had, by a formal instru-

ment dated Feb. 2, 1762, constituted the Abbé Valladares their public agent to advise with, and to negotiate for them.

The commissioners opened an immediate correspondence with Valladares, and succeeded in engaging him to co-operate with the views of the British government in settlement of the district inhabited by the Charaibs.

This district, comprising the most fertile part of the island, was occupied mostly in common, as by an erratic nation of savage warriors and hunters: what little cultivation there was, appeared merely in small detached spots of provision ground near to their cabins, and which were worked wholly by the women: for the rest, the Charaibs drew their sustenance by their guns, or from the seas.

A general appropriation of country for so partial use and benefit, was not deemed consistent with the common law of na-

tions, with the general interest of the colony, or with the rights of the British crown.

These, however, were considerations difficult to impress on the minds of the Charaibs: they had as little idea of “the obligations to cultivate the earth, and of their having no right to appropriate more than they could cultivate;” and all the abstract reasonings of Wolfius or Vattel, as they had of the grants to Lords Carlisle and Willoughby by Charles I. and II. It was easy for a Frenchman to persuade them that the governor of Martinique had made a better grant, and with a better title.

The commissioners, through the interposition of Valladares, accomplished, however, several interviews with different heads of families, a kind of patriarchal chiefs among the Black Charaibs. The preliminary step was to gain their acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the

King of Great Britain ; and then their acquiescence in the allotment and sale of lands within their eastern district, reserving grants in fee to themselves and families, of such portions of ground as they had already cleared, or as might further be adjudged necessary for their comfort and subsistence ; and more especially their allowing roads of communication to be made through their country, without which its sovereignty in no part could be duly asserted or maintained. On these conditions, all Charaibs, or free Negroes, were proffered the full rights of British subjects.

Great pains were taken to explain these several propositions ; the Charaib chiefs listened with deep attention, but only a few testified any inclination to accept the proposals, and those were disavowed by their own people, or themselves prevaricated, and afterwards withdrew their assent.

In this situation of affairs the conduct of the commissioners was embarrassed and undecided ; but in all cases just, and even favourable to the Charaibs.

They tried to conciliate them, and bring them to regard the benefits of the situation which was tendered to them with a nearer eye: they invited them to come among the English, to view the frankness of their manners, and the liberty of the people: they gave them a taste of British justice, in sedulously attending to their complaints, and avenging their wrongs, and protecting them in their properties.

In the minutes of the board of commissioners about this time various adjudications appear in favour of Charaib claims: “ The lands of Madame la Croix  
“ are declared of right to belong to the  
“ Charaib Thuriau ; the lands possessed  
“ by M. Pradiér are adjudged to the  
“ Charaib Joannae ; the lands held by

“ Mr. Flandrine to the Charaib Joseph ;  
 “ and those held by Mr. Rambut are de-  
 “ clared the property of the Charaib  
 “ Loné,” &c. &c.

The Charaibs availed themselves individually of this hospitality, and these attentions ; but as a people they yet obstinately persevered in declaring against all interference within the country they called their own, and in disclaiming allegiance to the British crown.

The commissioners now perceived that conciliating and temporizing thus partially with the Charaibs, could not answer any definitive purpose of government. Measures of a decisive and permanent nature must be ultimately adopted, and the difficulties but increased with delay. British colonists could not be induced to hazard their fortunes and their persons, on the casual and capricious forbearance of lawless savages ; nor could the King, with either honour or advan-

tage, hold a divided sovereignty, in an island only twenty-four miles in length, with a race of people, not merely independent of himself, *but under the immediate influence of France.*

The first of these considerations was no premature suggestion of those in office. I have in my possession a gazette published at St. Christopher's as early as May 1, 1765, in which, on part of those desirous to adventure in the ceded islands, the question is directly put, in discredit of St. Vincent's—"Query 14. Whether, "though in time it should become a "sugar colony, the planters, at least "those settled in the Caribbee frontier, "will not be exposed to burning, massacre, and robbery, from these savages?" With respect to apprehensions concerning the sovereignty of the island; what in 1765 was prophecy, in 1795 is history!

It was under these impressions, and urged by a strong sense of duty, the

commissioners addressed the lords commissioners of the treasury, by letter, dated August 10th, 1765, representing ;

“ That the Charaibs are altogether  
 “ uncivilized, and the *Blacks* particularly  
 “ of an idle untractable disposition. They  
 “ live in huts scattered in an irregular  
 “ manner, at a great distance from each  
 “ other, without any established subor-  
 “ dination, claiming large tracts of wood  
 “ land intervening, of which they make  
 “ no use ; and are besides possessed of  
 “ other lands in the cleared parts of the  
 “ country, which interfere much with  
 “ the laying out plantations for sale.  
 “ They had hitherto occasioned no dis-  
 “ turbance, but still we are in doubt if  
 “ they ever can be made useful ; or whether  
 “ in many instances they may not prove  
 “ dangerous. The measure that ap-  
 “ pears to us, from these considerations,  
 “ to be the safest and most for advantage  
 “ of the colony, would be as soon as pos-

“ sible to remove as many of them *as can*  
 “ *be prevailed upon* to quit, on terms con-  
 “ sistent with the humanity and honour  
 “ of his Majesty’s government: and what  
 “ seems the most probable for accom-  
 “ plishing that end, would be to buy the  
 “ cleared land, and cottages, of those  
 “ *who are disposed to sell*, satisfying them  
 “ with money, or whatever else may be  
 “ acceptable, and offering at the same  
 “ time other lands in Bequia, where they  
 “ cannot be hurtful, in lieu of those they  
 “ quit; but not permitting them to take  
 “ up any land again in any other part  
 “ of St. Vincent’s, except in such places,  
 “ and on such terms, as may confine them  
 “ to proper boundaries, and subject them  
 “ to some regulations.

(S. S.) “ T. GREGG,

“ Secty.

(S. S.) “ WM. YOUNG,

“ ROBT. STUART,

“ ROBT. WYNNE.”

Before the subject of this memorial could be duly considered, and consequent instructions be sent out, the benevolent attention of the commissioners, suggested by letter to the lords of the treasury, dated June 27, 1766, that they must beg to correct their report, so far as it recommended a removal to Bequia; because, though a beautiful and most healthy island, "*it was deficient in rivers, essential to the comfort and satisfaction of the Charaibs.*"

Thus the subject was again afloat; and if the commissioners on the spot, with every advantage of intelligence, and of intercourse with the Charaibs, were fluctuating and undetermined in what manner to proceed, well might ministers hesitate in transmitting their instructions from the distance of England: it was no easy matter to set aside at once disgrace and danger; and satisfy the character of the nation, the justice of the state, the

rights of the crown, and the interests of the country ; and provide for a case so new and complicated, as arose in the ceded island of St. Vincent's, with its aboriginal Indians, Negro colonists, French intruders, and British settlers.

It cannot escape the observation of the reader, that the proposal of removal to Bequia, was to depend wholly on the acquiescence of the Charaibs, and was to be a voluntary act in every respect. The commissioners, I venture to pronounce, were deceived by their French agents, in presuming such could be the case ; *for French connection was itself the obstacle.*

In truth, benevolence went hand in hand with justice, or rather was uppermost, in all advice or transactions relating to the Charaibs ; and until the question of allotting the lands occupied, *or claimed*, by any of them, was decided, and the mode of settlement arranged ; the commissioners sedulously avoided includ-

ing such lands in their surveys or sales ; and if inadvertently they trespassed on such lands *then uncultivated and untenanted*, they made instant reparation. As an instance, I will cite a minute of the board of commissioners.

*St. Vincent's, Aug. 12, 1766.*

“ Many of the Indians inhabiting the  
 “ valley of Ouarraouarrou claimed about  
 “ 44 acres, part of a plantation lot sold  
 “ to Mr. Crook at our last sale ; this  
 “ land, upon inquiring, we have found to  
 “ *have been* occupied by them, and as we  
 “ were sensible it was not the intention  
 “ of government to deprive them of their  
 “ land, we acquainted them, that it would  
 “ not have been sold had it been known  
 “ to have been their property, and of-  
 “ fered them other lands in the neigh-  
 “ bourhood in lieu of it, with which they  
 “ seem very well satisfied.”

If opinions injurious to the British character and government, in its dispensations of justice towards the Charaibs, have at any time been entertained, the best answer for the worthy commissioners and their employers, is *fact*. I have felt it a duty to state an example of their procedure on a point, wherein their conduct hath been much misrepresented. Another occurs in the case of Mr. Nanton, where the sale of a large estate was cancelled, because a very small part was claimed by the Charaibs; I have already cited even stronger cases of adjudication in favour of the Charaibs on old claims, and in contest with European settlers.\*

\* Mr. Bryan Edwards, the elegant and able author of the History of the West Indian Islands, accurate and learned in other respects, hath been misinformed on the subject of the treatment of the Charaibs, the Charaib war, and on many particulars relating to St. Vincent's. In due respect to that gentleman, as well as on every other account, the compiler of the present essay regrets that

The commissioners report of August 10, 1765, being by no means satisfactory, ministers required the attendance of the first commissioner in England. Accordingly in the summer of 1767, he repaired home, and had frequent conferences with them; and by note from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated Nov. 10, 1767, he was required, on part of the Lords, to make an official report, containing a specific plan and detailed arrangement of future procedure, respecting the Charaibs in St. Vincent's. The commissioner accordingly drew up sundry propositions, which were *fully* approved of, and made the basis of the following instructions, dated February 2, 1768, and immediately

from avocations he was prevented examining the papers in his possession, in time for suggestion of some alteration and amendment, ere the second edition of the work alluded to, and which he is sure that candid as able writer would have accepted. His consolation is, that the history of the West Indies cannot stop at a second edition.

transmitted to the commissioners in St. Vincent's.

I. That the commissioners shall survey and dispose of all the cultivated lands from Ribichi to Grand Sable, and round to Chatteau-bellair (the Charaib country.)

II. That no step shall be taken towards the removal of any Charaib, till the whole arrangement and design shall have been notified and explained to the satisfaction of their chiefs; and they be made to comprehend the conditions on which the settlement was proposed, and that the plan be carried into effect with the gentlest hand, and in the mildest manner.

III. That in fixing the quarter of the island, destined for the new settlement, every proper indulgence be shown them, and that the lands allotted for them in exchange, be convenient for their habitation, sufficient for their support, and, in point of situation, adapted to their manner of living.

IV. Certificates shall be given to their principal persons of the situation and quantity of land allotted to them.

V. The absolute property of the lands so allotted, shall be assured to them and their children, and in such manner as shall be found most to their satisfaction, and agreeable to their customs.

VI. Until they shall have gathered in their provisions from their former lands, and built houses on their lands newly allotted, they shall be permitted to remain in their former situation, and five years shall be allowed them for these purposes.

VII. Under these terms, the spots of cleared land they now occupy shall be sold, and make part of plantation allotments, with the woodlands which surround them; and on the final removal of the Charaibs shall make part of such property.

VIII. Such spots of cleared land shall be sold at not less than £10. the acre; to

be paid in two payments, one half down, the other at the expiration of five years.

IX. X. Of the purchase money for such cleared land, 4 joannes, or £ 8. sterling per acre, shall be paid to the Charaibs who claim the lands, and be paid to the Charaib in two equal payments, one half at time of sale, and the other moiety in five years ; or sooner, on certificate of his removal to the lands allotted him in exchange.

XI. If at the end of five years, the Charaib shall not have prepared for removal, or built him a hut on the new lands allotted him, the governor, &c. may and shall direct the planter succeeding to the land, to build a hut for the said Charaib, accounting for the residue of the purchase money due to him.

XII. No quit-rent shall be reserved for lands allotted to the Charaibs, but they shall be the absolute property of

them and their descendants, or assigns, provided always that they may not alienate to any white person.

XIII. If in course of the arrangement the remains of the native, or Red Charaibs, desire for their security to be separated and settled apart from the free Negroes, it shall be done.

XIV. Returns to be made of the Charaibs, who receive allotments and take the oath of fidelity to the King.

XV. No fee whatever to be taken for Charaib allotments.

(S. S.) GRAFTON,  
PRIS. CAMPBELL,  
C. JENKINSON.

May 25th, 1768. These instructions were proclaimed and published in English and in French, throughout the island of St. Vincent's. It is to be observed, that from long intercourse with the French all chiefs of the Charaibs speak that language.

June 8th, 1768. The Abbé Valladares was sent to make a tour of the Charaib country, and explain the purport of the proclamations, and advise the Charaibs to accept of the proffered conditions of settlement.

The Abbé's written report is now before me.

Two or three parties whom he addressed, seemed to have listened to his proposal with complacency, and some few to intimate their acquiescence in the terms: but when he arrived at Grand Sable, the richest and principal settlement of the Charaibs, he found the chief Chatoyér at the head of the mass of their people, who sternly asked them—"Quel roi?—what king was this, of Great Britain?—They would listen to the governor of Martinique, and no other." A friendly Charaib then stepped forwards, and telling Valladares that Chatoyér had spoke the sentiments of the whole, advised them to retire whilst in safety.

The Charaibs soon afterwards held a grand council, in which the danger of declarations which might involve them in immediate contest with the English power, seem to have had a strong influence ; and it was then determined to temporize, and avert the measure of control by individual submissions, and partial acquiescence : they wished to try the temper, the designs, and the power of the English ; and more especially to have an opportunity of consulting their friends, the French : they wished, in a word, to gain time, and settle their plan of resistance.

Accordingly, at the next board of commissioners, held June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1768, forty Charaibs from Grand Sable, with the chief Chatoyér and his prime minister, Jean Baptiste, appeared, and desired their names might be taken down, “ to distinguish them (as they said) from the “ ill-disposed Charaibs, who presumed to

“resist the King’s authority.” And Sept. 17th, Valladares remitted the names of twenty-three other principal Charaibs, from the quarter of Rabacau, who testified a wish to be included among those obedient to the proclamation.

The forward friendship of a Charaib, was at that period little known, and not duly estimated: subsequent events would suggest that Chatoyér and Jean Baptiste came forward more especially with the pledge of peace, because they more particularly designed for war.

There is reason to suppose, that the appearing divided among themselves was a settled design of the Charaibs; and it was the most artful that could be devised. It deferred the plan of entering their country as commissioners to arrange settlements; and it prevented the entering their country with a power, as to control a hostile people. In giving hopes of accomplishing the purposes of the British

Government peaceably, and by means of parties among themselves, they held the accomplishment at their own option; and if protracted for any length of time, a war might break out with France, and then, with the aid of their old friends the the French, St. Vincent's be at their disposal. To those, however, who were not yet acquainted with the temper and disposition of the Charaibs, appearances wore the most promising aspect; some progress had been made in bringing their principal people to coincide with the views of the British Government; the concessions of some, would in all probability induce others to submit; resistance would from day to day have a weaker party; and nothing was requisite but to proceed with temper, and not hastily precipitate measures, and attempt an allotment of the country, before they had the full acquiescence of the people, which the recent example of their chiefs gave early

promise of. Such was the language, such the hopes of the commissioners. Fatal experience had not yet taught “that perfidy is the policy” of the Charaib: that he is most submissive when he meditates revolt, most complacent when he designs outrage; and prepares for devastation and murder by acts of conciliation and professions of attachment.

Thus he attains, what is the glory of each savage race, the accomplishing his purpose by cunning, and destroying his enemy by surprise.

The commissioners lulled into confidence, and little aware of the Indian policy, deferred the allotments of the Charaib country: but yet thought they might without interruption set on foot the preliminary undertaking, of marking out roads of communication, a measure so necessary to the settlement of the country, and without which (I have already observed) the sovereignty of the island

could be neither asserted, or maintained. The instructions of February 2, 1768, or consequent *proclamations* of May the 25th, had made no mention of making *roads*. Among civilized nations such right might be deemed a fair result of sovereignty; but the Charaibs were not in earnest whilst paying occasional homage to that sovereignty, and such influence they were least of all prepared to admit. They foresaw the consequences; they knew that the means were preparing for bringing troops and cannon amongst them, and that in the event, they would no longer be able to defer unconditional submission. On this subject they had frequent grand councils; and their canoes and pattiaugers were in constant navigation, between Chatteau-bellair, and St. Lucia, and Martinique.

Whether on suggestion of their French advisers, or their own scheme of policy, the Charaibs determined to permit the road to advance a certain length; they

resolved to oppose it at the river Calonery, the point of what was termed the "Barre de l'Isle," or ancient boundary, settled by the governor of Martinique. The Abbé Valladares had intimation of this intention, from a Charaib attached to him, and immediately informed Mr. Wynne, the only commissioner then on the island. The Charaibs who there proposed to make their stand, were the people of Grand Sable, with the very Chatoyér at their head who had been *the first to offer submission*.

The letter from Mr. Wynne, stating these circumstances to Sir William Young, then at his government of Dominica, is dated Nov. 28, 1768.

This intelligence did not rest long on the authority of Valladares; soon afterwards the Charaibs stopped the surveyors and their pioneers at the river Jambou, and forbade them advancing further. Mr. Wynne wrote a second letter, dated Dec. 8, stating that the surveyors could

not proceed without military assistance; and the board of commissioners being then engaged in the other ceded islands, all further proceedings were for a time deferred.

Early in the spring of 1769, it was determined to resume the task of making the road towards the Charaib country, and a military escort was appointed to accompany the surveyors; to prevent the necessity of a daily relief of this guard, and long marches in a hot climate, a house on the banks of the river Massaricau was taken, and appropriated as barracks for the detachment of soldiers on this service.

May 1, 1769, forty men of the 32d regiment under command of Capt. Wilkie, and accompanied by Mr. Levi Porter the surveyor, proceeded to take possession of this post.

Three hundred Charaibs well armed appeared on the hill, unroofed the bar-

rack, and seemed inclined to dispute the approach of the detachment. However, on the remonstrances of Captain Wilkie, and his promise that the road should proceed no further, till a report had been made to the governor and council ; and after some conference amongst themselves, the Charaibs permitted the soldiers to advance, to repair the house, and to take post there.

Their scheme in this apparent moderation soon appeared ; when with different parties of Charaibs, they surrounded the hill, and cutting off every possible communication, even for water at the neighbouring river, held the detachment at their mercy. There were not above one hundred more regular troops in the island ; these were immediately marched out, accompanied by all the British settlers who could procure arms, in order to rescue their comrades from their perilous situation.

The Charaibs then shewed how art-

fully and systematically they had conducted themselves, and how well they had been advised, in seizing and preserving the detachment as hostages, as well as in deferring their opposition to the road until such time as it approached the country they more especially claimed.

The whole force of the colony marching to rescue Capt. Wilkie and the forty soldiers at Massaricau, some Charaib chiefs came forth to parley, and they made an offer to liberate the detachment, on condition, that the commissioners would give up all immediate pretensions to interfere within their country, or even any attempt to make roads of communication with it.

The commissioners referring to their instructions, understood by the second article, they could take no step beyond the old boundary of the Charaib country, “until the people were made to comprehend the conditions on which the

“settlement was proposed; and that then  
 “every motion was to be conducted with  
 “the gentlest hand, and in the mildest  
 “manner.” They thought this article  
 precluded them from using force, and  
 they accordingly, in formal address to  
 the governor, declined proceeding fur-  
 ther by military aid. The 32d regiment  
 recovering their detachment, had no fur-  
 ther object when the service was closed,  
 by those who alone had authority to com-  
 mand it; accordingly the whole party  
 marched back to the leeward country.

The Charaibs, encouraged by this suc-  
 cess, and presuming on the apparent  
 weakness of the British power, began to  
 menace the settled country, and entertain  
 designs of extirpating the English. The  
 Abbé Valladares was the first object of  
 their vengeance; the Abbé's letter of  
 June 24, 1769, giving an account of the  
 transaction, displays in curious terms the  
 refinements of perfidy and cunning, which

characterizes this people. His story is as follows :

May 28, two Charaib chiefs, named Pierre Gatteau and Toussé, addressed Valadares with great civility, and said they were come to visit him on part of the tribe of Rabacau, and to “faire bien leurs complemens,” with every profession of attachment. The Abbé invited them in, and they supped with him, and slept in his house. Thinking themselves now assured of the Abbé’s person, they stole out in the morning to give notice to their comrades ; and in half an hour the house was beset by an hundred and fifty armed Charaibs, besides others who seemed to come as spectators. They immediately broke open the door, cut down the Abbé’s nephew with their cutlasses ; murdered his Negroe servant ; carried off the clothes and provisions ; and set fire to the house. The Abbé had fortunately gone forth very early to Chatteau-

bellair. His nephew afterwards recovered, and mentioning the names of those who headed the attack, to be Paschal, Louison, Pierre Gatteau, Toussé, Bâdon, Laimont, and Guerin, &c. I find those very names in the list of twenty-three, whom the Abbé had before reported in Sept. 1768 to the commissioners, as his particular friends of Rabacau, and to be depended on, in contradistinction to *the ill-disposed Charaibs*.

The commissioners had now repeated accounts of predatory attacks on different houses and settlements, and even of more serious designs to attack the King's barracks in the heart of the leeward country. Slaves had been carried off by them and sold to the French, and direct information was given, that the Charaibs had asked assistance of the governor of Martinique, to attack and extirpate the English from the face of St. Vincent's.

The reader will observe, in how much

calumny and misrepresentation that assertion must have originated, which imputed an oppressive and sanguinary spirit to the commissioners, or to the British Government, and which stated the Charaibs, on the other hand, as an honest and pacific people, whom avarice and extreme outrage had driven to fight for their liberties and subsistence.

It was not till after eight years of patient forbearance by the British Government, that the contumacy of the Charaibs under French influence, step by step led to the necessity of control, and to the war of 1772.

The causes, the conduct, and the termination of that war, were equally falsified, and the government and British settlers in St. Vincent's traduced by a malignant party, powerfully connected in the state, whose resentments originated from the very opposition of the commissioners to their scheme of monopoly.

lizing the Charaib lands, and of extirpating that people, under the name of purchase and exclusive treaty with them.

On this subject I shall have further to observe, when I come to the ensuing year.

July 17, 1769, the commissioners addressed a letter to the Lords of trade and plantations, giving a detailed account of the passed transactions, and the critical situation of the colony in St. Vincent's. They write that " The instructions we  
 " now have from your Lordships are, in  
 " our humble opinion, as proper as any  
 " that could have been devised for the  
 " purpose of settling the windward part of  
 " the country ; but experience now shows  
 " us that it will be impossible, without  
 " imminent danger to the colony, to  
 " complete any settlement or arrange-  
 " ment with the Charaibs, let the terms  
 " proposed be ever so tender or advantageous, without a force sufficient to

“ restrain and awe them into obedience ;  
 “ for which purpose it will be highly ne-  
 “ cessary to have a considerable military  
 “ force on the island, before we again  
 “ attempt to carry our instructions into  
 “ execution, as we find their numbers  
 “ greatly exceed what we formerly ap-  
 “ prehended.

“ We have the greatest reason to think  
 “ that suffering the Charaibs to remain  
 “ in their present state, will be very dan-  
 “ gerous, and may at some period prove  
 “ fatal to the inhabitants of the country,  
 “ as their situation, surrounded with wood,  
 “ makes any access to them, for the pur-  
 “ pose of executing justice, impracti-  
 “ cable ; and they will from thence be  
 “ capable of committing all outrages un-  
 “ punished ; of harbouring the slaves of  
 “ the inhabitants of this island, as well  
 “ as of all the neighbouring islands ; of  
 “ sheltering amongst those, vagabonds  
 “ and deserters from the French, and in

“case of a rupture with France, it is  
“probable they will join in distressing  
“the inhabitants, and in an attempt to  
“conquer the country.

(S.S.) WM. YOUNG,  
JOHN. HUNT,  
ROB. STEWART,  
ROB. WYNNE,  
WM. HEWITT.”

The commissioners having dispatched this memorial, until such time as his Majesty's further pleasure should be known, determined to confine themselves to measures of precaution and defence. The forts and military posts might serve to keep the Charaibs in check, and prevent their inroads and attacks by land.

In order to prevent their using their canoes, for predatory descents on the coasts, an armed vessel was hired to cruise between St. Vincent's and St. Lucia.

The captain of the guarda-costa's instructions were, "On meeting any canoes  
 " of Charaibs at sea, whom he might  
 " suspect of hostile intentions, or of carrying  
 " slaves to the French, or importing  
 " arms and ammunition from the  
 " French islands, to examine them, and  
 " seize what was illicit, and apprehend  
 " the crews, if apparently engaged in  
 " designs dangerous to the country."

Captain Quinland, commanding this armed sloop, on the 24th of August, 1769, fell in with four large canoes, loaded with kegs of ammunition, and with about 20 armed Charaibs in each, midway between St. Lucia and St. Vincent's. Captain Quinland made signal to bring them to. The four canoes rowing forward together, and himself having only nine men on board, he made signal for one only to approach at a time; but they all persisting to advance, he fired a shot, which they immediately returned

with musquetry, and rowed on as with intent to board him. He fired again, and sunk one of the canoes. The Charaibs swam on with their cutlasses in their mouths; he continued firing, and successively sunk the four canoes. And of the nine who composed his crew, two being killed and one wounded, and having only six men to resist the numbers who came attempting with their cutlasses to scale the sides of his vessel, he made sail away; and in his affidavit of the transaction, states his belief, that the whole of the 80 Charaibs must have perished in the sea.

This fatal event could not but excite new and strong animosities: the dark spirit of revenge stalked abroad, and was ready to aggravate hostilities, when occasion should offer.

The British settlers in St. Vincent's now felt a most serious alarm; they had embarked their fortunes, and their in-

dustry, and their persons, in an experiment of colonization, hazardous enough in itself from hurricanes to affect the estate, or fevers to destroy the man, without superadding dangers to either from a savage enemy, and a feeble and inefficient protection of government. They presumed to state their case, and address the Ministers. I have already brought forward original papers answering all misrepresentations to the prejudice of the commissioners, or of the government who employed them.

The moderation displayed in the prayer of the planters petition, shews the temper and views of that humane and generous class of men in a genuine and fair light, and so strongly refutes all stories to their prejudice, that in justice to them, and for satisfaction of their representatives, I shall transcribe it.

“ To the Right Hon. the Earl of Hillsbo-  
 “ rough one of his Majesty’s princi-  
 “ pal Secretaries of State, &c. &c. &c.

“ The Memorial of sundry proprietors  
 “ of land in St. Vincent’s, on behalf of  
 “ themselves and the planters of that  
 “ island,

“ Humbly Sheweth,

“ That near two-thirds of the culti-  
 “ vable lands of St. Vincent’s remain in  
 “ the possession of the Black Charaibs,  
 “ but a very small proportion of which  
 “ has yet been cleared of wood.

“ That by the culture of such lands,  
 “ *as are at present and must for ever be*  
 “ *unnecessary to that people*, his Majesty’s  
 “ revenue will be greatly increased, and  
 “ from the accession of inhabitants, the  
 “ island may be rendered in some degree  
 “ defensible.

“ That in obedience to his Majesty’s

“ instructions to his commissioners, to  
 “ sell such lands as should remain unoc-  
 “ cupied, after allotting to the Charaibs  
 “ very sufficient quantities for their sup-  
 “ port and happiness, every measure had  
 “ been pursued by the commissioners,  
 “ that could tend to conciliate their af-  
 “ fections, and make them sensible of his  
 “ Majesty’s gracious intentions respect-  
 “ ing them.

“ That they nevertheless, from ground-  
 “ less fears and jealousies assembled in  
 “ arms, very much to the terror of the in-  
 “ habitants; that they denied the sove-  
 “ reignty of the King, and obliged the  
 “ surveyors to retire with precipitation  
 “ from that part of the country.

“ That they live without order or any  
 “ laws for their good government; that  
 “ the barbarities exercised by them on  
 “ the native Indians, who first afforded  
 “ them protection, have been such that  
 “ the few who are left alive have been

“ compelled to seek an asylum amongst  
“ his Majesty’s subjects.

“ That they applied to Count d’En-  
“ nery, the governor of Martinique, for  
“ assistance of men and arms to drive the  
“ English from the island, and proposed  
“ to him, on their parts, to set fire to  
“ their settlements.

“ That they seized and sold in the  
“ neighbouring French islands several  
“ Negro slaves belonging to the plan-  
“ ters of St. Vincent’s, some of whom  
“ were very lately restored to their  
“ owners by order of the French go-  
“ vernor.

“ That it is not the wish of your me-  
“ morialists from what hath been said,  
“ that the Charaibs should be otherwise  
“ dealt with, than in a manner entirely  
“ becoming humanity. They pray only  
“ that his Majesty will be graciously  
“ pleased to extend his protection to  
“ themselves; that as they desire not

“ the destruction of others, they may be  
 “ secured in their own lives and proper-  
 “ ties, which they humbly conceive can  
 “ never be effected whilst the Charaibs  
 “ are permitted to remain in their present  
 “ lawless state, and possessors of so con-  
 “ siderable a share of the island, through  
 “ which, in future war, his Majesty’s sub-  
 “ jects will at all times be exposed to the  
 “ sudden incursions of an enemy.

“ That your memorialists believe, from  
 “ their knowledge of the nature and dis-  
 “ positions of the Charaibs, that if a force  
 “ sufficient to reduce them, was speedily  
 “ to be sent to the island, they would  
 “ acknowledge the sovereignty and do-  
 “ main of his Majesty, and that every  
 “ necessary arrangement might be made  
 “ with facility, and perhaps without the  
 “ loss of one life,” &c. &c.

*Jan. 22, 1770.*

The statement that the large tract of

uncultivated land in wood, could never be useful to the Charaibs, is perfectly true ; for a hunter's country can be of no use to the Indian where there is nothing to hunt ; there is no animal of the chace in St. Vincent's, no meat for provision ; no skin for use as traffic. The presumption on the timidity of the Charaibs, and their easy surrender, was less founded.

The proposals of the commissioners, and of the inhabitants, to awe and control the Charaibs by military force, were followed by occurrences which rendered the measure indispensable

The soil of St. Vincent's had been some time known to be the richest and most fertile of the Carribbée islands, and the country which the Charaibs possessed to be the most fertile of St. Vincent's.

Certain adventurers regarded these fields of fortune with a greedy eye, schemes were set on foot to attain sudden and great estates, by means of French

agents, to be employed in intriguing with, and cajoling some principal persons among the Charaibs into the making a partial surrender and sale of lands, as being *independent proprietors, and having a right so to do*. This argument was flattering to the pride and pretensions of the Charaib, and the tender of immediate enjoyments further seduced him into a bargain, where his receipts were disproportionate even to ridicule; and in which he was equally acting in contempt of the pretensions of his countrymen, and the rights of the British crown.

The large tracts of woodlands, from river to river, were claimed by families or tribes of Charaibs in common, and the sales made by one, would probably be disavowed by every other. The Charaib, over-cunning, was hence probably the more ready to make sale of *a bad title*; and the adventurer was as ready to buy, meaning to over-reach the cunning of the

Charaib, by converting a bad title into a *good one*. To this effect men of great talents and consideration in England, were to be engaged in the scheme, and admitted to a partnership; a political connection was to be sought out; a compromise was to be undertaken with Government, and acquiescence in one set of measures intimated as a return for support to another; in a word, the attempt was to induce Ministers to hide, in one common cause, the iniquitous claims of individuals with the just rights of the crown: memorials were presented to this effect.

The Ministers, however, startled at the project, seemed unwilling to irritate those concerned; and they avoided the responsibility by referring the principle of the plan, as well as actual purchasers, for the conclusive opinion and report of the first commissioner.

From this report, dated Dec. 15, 1770, and which is of very considerable length,

I shall transcribe a few extracts, sufficient to afford a just notion of the case, and of the argument on which Government annulled those purchases, which they were so powerfully and shamefully solicited to legalize and support.

The question is treated under the three heads of pretension to royal favour, of claim of right in the applicants, and of the policy of concession by Government.

On the first of these pleas the benevolent and able author of this report says,—“ much attention and compassion  
 “ is, in my humble opinion, due to the Chara-  
 “ raibs of St. Vincent’s: for although many  
 “ of them proved refractory, and with-  
 “ out just or sufficient cause have opposed  
 “ the execution of the King’s orders, so  
 “ replete with tenderness for them, and  
 “ with paternal care for their proper set-  
 “ tlement, maintenance, and comfort; yet  
 “ when we reflect on the nature of their  
 “ case, and the peculiarity of their man-

“ners, how important the whole trans-  
 “action must have appeared in their  
 “eyes, and how many doubts must have  
 “arisen in their minds, filled with jea-  
 “lousy and dread, lest their repose should  
 “be disturbed by the intrusion of stran-  
 “gers, and themselves extirpated in the  
 “end, or reduced to slavery ; I say, when  
 “all these matters are duly considered,  
 “much is to be forgotten, much forgiven  
 “them.

“But upon what principles any de-  
 “gree of favour from the King can be  
 “expected by subjects, who appear,  
 “in the very case where favour is soli-  
 “cited, to have, as far as in them lay,  
 “*weakened* the King’s pretensions of  
 “*right and sovereignty* to the island ; who  
 “have acted in direct opposition to his  
 “known orders, and who have thus in-  
 “sulted his government, I am totally at  
 “a loss to discover. They pray that his  
 “Majesty may be moved to confirm these

“ purchases, made without his permission,  
 “ and contrary to his pleasure, from the  
 “ Charaibs : this is not a prayer of duty  
 “ and respect; they are apprehensive  
 “ their titles cannot be deemed valid  
 “ without it, and therefore they solicit;  
 “ they offend in the first instance,—they  
 “ do not ask forgiveness;—they expect  
 “ a reward from the crown in return for  
 “ their disobedience to it.

“ From the jealousy and opposition of  
 “ the Charaibs, and the danger the colony  
 “ was thereby exposed to, his Majesty’s  
 “ commissioners have found it necessary  
 “ to desist from the execution of his  
 “ instructions, to report home a state of  
 “ the case, and to await respectfully the  
 “ King’s further orders.

“ These memorialists have involved a  
 “ delicate subject, already teeming with  
 “ difficulties, with still further ones; and  
 “ perhaps derive some expectation of suc-

“ cess, even from the very difficulties they  
“ have helped to create.

“ If from the observations I have made,  
“ the memorialists have no reason to ex-  
“ pect the King’s confirmation of their  
“ purchases as a matter of *favour*, it re-  
“ mains only to be considered, whether  
“ they ought to obtain it as a matter of  
“ *right*, or from principles of *good policy*.

“ And first, as to the matter of right:—  
“ In the King’s instructions to his com-  
“ missioners, the island (St. Vincent’s) is  
“ said to have been settled contrary to  
“ the faith of treaties, and they are for-  
“ bid to acknowledge any right in virtue  
“ of possession by the inhabitants.

“ In further instructions, since given  
“ to the commissioners, they are directed  
“ to allot good and sufficient lands to the  
“ Charaibs, for their support, mainte-  
“ nance, and comfort, which they are to  
“ hold by virtue of certificates under the

“ crown, and with a restriction incapa-  
 “ citing them from selling or alienating  
 “ the lands so allotted to any white per-  
 “ son whatsoever.

“ The opposition of the Charaibs to  
 “ the execution of these orders, and the  
 “ transactions which have occurred in  
 “ consequence, need not at present be  
 “ repeated. But as the King’s preten-  
 “ sions to the island, and his instructions,  
 “ as I have stated them, were perfectly  
 “ known, and publicly proclaimed in  
 “ St. Vincent’s, the *memorialists* cannot,  
 “ I presume, enjoy the King’s confirma-  
 “ tion of their purchases as a matter of  
 “ *right*.

“ It only remains to examine, whether  
 “ they should enjoy it on principles of  
 “ *good policy*.

“ It may be easy to determine who are  
 “ best entitled to the possession of cleared  
 “ and cultivated lands, since it is equi-  
 “ table, that those who have toiled should

“ reap the fruits of their labour ; yet it  
 “ will be difficult to prove *any natural*  
 “ *right or title to the large tracts of wood-*  
 “ *lands* in St. Vincent’s, which certain  
 “ Charaibs may presume to claim : there  
 “ is apprehension of endangering the  
 “ peace of the island, from the disputes  
 “ and contests among the Charaibs them-  
 “ selves.

“ The sellers of these lands, as set forth  
 “ in the memorial, are only three Cha-  
 “ raibs : now it can no way be demon-  
 “ strated, that others of them do not con-  
 “ ceive they have an equal claim to the  
 “ enjoyment of woods, perhaps esteemed  
 “ amongst them a common right of na-  
 “ ture ; if so, it is probable that those  
 “ who have received no share of the ad-  
 “ vantage arising from the sale, may  
 “ be dissatisfied with their comrades,  
 “ and oppose a precedent, which may  
 “ gradually endanger their other pos-  
 “ sessions, by admitting strangers into

“ their neighbourhood without the general consent of the whole.

“ As to the argument made use of in the memorial, that by the King’s confirmation of these bargains, others may follow, and thus the *Charaibs* be removed. Let me be *their* advocate :—Will it be consistent with the dignity of the crown of Great Britain to encourage artful and designing men to delude the *Charaibs* out of their possessions, and that too under the mask of friendship ? —With humble submission to your Lordships, I will be bold to assert that this plan can never be effected, without practices that disgrace humanity : how many collusive bargains, quarrels, and massacres, must come to pass before a whole race of men are deluded out of their possessions, and have no longer power to justify themselves ? the thought engenders a train of monstrous conse-

“quences, as full of danger as of ini-  
“quity.”

Having gone through the subject more especially submitted for his opinion, the Commissioner closes his report, with a new proposition respecting the Charaibs, and which I shall more particularly refer to when stating the terms which closed the Charaib war, as it is in proof that the grants in that treaty did not arise from present weakness or fears, but out of original sentiments of clemency and bounty.

“For quieting if possible the fears and  
“jealousies of the Charaibs, and restor-  
“ing confidence and security to the co-  
“lony, (and considering) the improba-  
“bility of acquiring the friendship of  
“the Charaibs by any other means than  
“those of favour, and the danger the co-  
“lony must be exposed to, unless their  
“friendship is secured, or unless they

“ are absolutely reduced by force of arms.  
 “ The *proposition* is, that a royal procla-  
 “ mation be issued, declaring that the  
 “ King has taken compassion on their  
 “ ignorance, distrusts, and jealousies, and  
 “ rather than be the author of their de-  
 “ struction, is graciously pleased, that  
 “ they shall *continue to hold the lands*  
 “ *they now possess* under his royal fa-  
 “ vour, on condition *only*, that they be-  
 “ come his good and faithful subjects;  
 “ and never sell, or alienate these lands  
 “ but to himself, or to those he shall  
 “ think fit to depute by his authority.”

In consequence of this report, dated  
 Dec. 15, 1770, and signed by Sir Wil-  
 liam Young, it was determined to set  
 aside all purchases of Charaib lands ; and  
 instructions were immediately prepared  
 to such effect : and on the 25th of Jan.  
 1771, signed and dispatched to the com-  
 missioners in St. Vincent's.

Whilst the Ministers in England had

the subject of these purchases under their consideration, other adventurers were trying their fortune with the Charaibs, and in their avidity to comprise sufficient land within their respective bargains, had bought three times the extent of the whole island of St. Vincent's. One gentleman alone from Grenada had purchased 69,000 acres, according to Mr. Sec. Gregg's letter of October 27, 1770; and which beginning from a certain landmark in the Charaib country, and thence stretching to leeward, took in many of the largest and best settled estates, held under former sales, or grants from the crown itself.

The commissioners, even without further instructions, felt themselves bound to oppose these encroachments, and the legislature of St. Vincent's felt alarm and indignation, at proceedings which struck at the rights of government, the peace of the colony, and the properties and

safety of all in it: they were passing bills of pains and penalties on those who engaged in these illicit purchases, when the instructions from Government, dated Jan. 25, 1771, arrived in St. Vincent's; by which all these purchases were disallowed and annulled by royal authority.

The commissioners were directed to procure an interview with the chiefs of the Charaibs, to explain to them the nature of these transactions, and the grounds of justice, and of favour to them, on which the King had been pleased to cancel the bargains which had been made so much to the prejudice of their general interests and pretensions.

This conference was held the end of June, 1771. The chief Chatoyér with about forty of their principal people attended on part of the Charaibs. They testified much satisfaction at hearing that the bargains for lands made with certain of their comrades were cancelled and of no

effect, and intimated that themselves should have opposed the carrying those clandestine and iniquitous sales into execution.

The commissioners then entered on the other topics of their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and of compensations to be made them by the crown for the cession of a district called Mornegarou. The Charaibs declared repeatedly, and in the most unqualified terms, that they were resolved that at no time whatever, any European should settle within the country they claimed: and they absolutely denied any right in the crown of Great Britain to their allegiance. They said they knew of no king, and would acknowledge no king: and the consequences of these declarations being urged by the commissioners, Jean Baptiste, a Charaib of high consideration with his people, stepped forward and declared, that “ the general of Martinique had ad-

“vised and encouraged them not to consent to any change in the boundaries formerly subsisting between them and the white inhabitants; and moreover, that he would protect them as before.” And further said, in the name of all, “that they were independent of the kings either of France or England, and would continue so, though indeed attached to the French.”

This plain avowal confirmed unanimously by his comrades closed a conference, which in the result plainly evinced that all conciliatory language or measures were nugatory, and that a concession to the King's authority was not to be attained on any terms or conditions, however favourable. The Charaibs were not to be made subjects, but by the strong arm of power and control; and if not made subjects—if not at least *so far* put on like footing with the British settlers on the same island, there was no security

of person or property to the people at any time, as there was no security to his Majesty's dominion over the island, in case of a war with France.

July 1771, the commissioners made an official and definitive report on these subjects, in which they say,

“ We are of opinion, that the positive  
 “ refusal of the Charaibs to agree to the  
 “ terms offered by us, on behalf of the  
 “ crown, or take the oaths of allegiance,  
 “ added to their avowed attachment to  
 “ the French, makes it absolutely necessary for the security of the lives and  
 “ property of the inhabitants, that some  
 “ steps should be immediately taken to  
 “ prevent their committing outrages unpunished.

“ We think that the sale of lands is no  
 “ longer the most important object, but  
 “ that the honour of the crown now becomes concerned for the protection of  
 “ its subjects, against a race of lawless

“ people, who when prompted by liquor  
 “ or ill designing persons, may commit  
 “ any violence without being subject to  
 “ control.

“ In our opinion, the most effectual  
 “ means of reducing them to obedience,  
 “ will be *to carry a road through their*  
 “ *country*, under protection of a suffi-  
 “ cient military force, and after allotting  
 “ them lands for their ample subsistence,  
 “ to sell the remainder, which will very  
 “ fully repay any expences incurred by  
 “ the arrangement, and contribute to  
 “ keep them in order, by mixing white  
 “ inhabitants amongst them.

(S.S.) WM. YOUNG,  
 J. HUNT,  
 ROB. WYNNE.”

This report was accompanied by a memorial from the council and assembly of St. Vincent's, strongly expressive of their anxiety and alarm, from the con-

duct and dispositions of the Charaibs, and praying for measures which may tend to the protection of themselves, their lives, and fortunes.

The legislature in this their memorial strongly insist, “ on the mischiefs which  
 “ ensued the late bargains and contracts  
 “ for land made by adventurers as before  
 “ stated ;” they say that the “ Charaibs  
 “ were taught by these people, that they  
 “ had rights, which the crown assumed  
 “ to itself ; and that they had in their  
 “ own power, and independently, what  
 “ the crown professed to grant or to con-  
 “ trol.” They proceed even to declare,  
 “ That they have no doubt, but that *in-*  
 “ *stigated by those disappointed adventurers,*  
 “ the Charaibs have *again* blocked up the  
 “ road close to the windwardmost settle-  
 “ ment made by your Majesty’s settle-  
 “ ments.”—These artful and daring men  
 who had shaken every principle which  
 the commissioners had laboured to estab-

lish for attaching the Charaibs as a people to the crown of Great Britain ; these very adventurers, who, regardless of private or of public duties, mere tricksters as to the Charaibs, dangerous to their fellow subjects, and disloyal to their king, had broached doctrines of rights and independence, incompatible with the just pretensions of government, or even the safety of social order, who had thus rendered accommodation impracticable, and accelerated, if not actually occasioned, rebellion and war.

These were the very persons, who raised the clamour on the subject of *that* war, and in the vindictive spirit of disgrace and disappointment, spread their calumnies to the very house of parliament, and till they have reached even the page of history: violence, avarice, and cruelty, were imputed in the gross to the ministers of those times, and to the commissioners, and to the British planters in St. Vincent's.

Let not the refutation be light as the charge;—let it rest on authentic grounds; let it be traced in the official minutes of procedure, in the propositions, and in the memorials of those employed, and in the letters, orders, and instructions of their employers.

The report of the commissioners, and memorial of the legislature of St. Vincent's arrived in England towards the close of the year 1771, and became the immediate and serious consideration of Government. At the request of Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State, four respectable planters of St Vincent's, then in London, gave their additional information, and thereto added their opinion, that the Charaibs should be removed from the island of St. Vincent's; and proposed a district of the coast of Africa, or uninhabited island of St. Matthew's, of much the same extent as St. Vincent's, and in lat.  $2^{\circ}.32''$  S. as the place of their future

settlement. This proposal was not attended to; and it was determined to adopt the preliminary measure suggested by the commissioners of—*Making a road through the Charaib country, under protection of a sufficient military force.*

A military force was accordingly prepared to assemble in St. Vincent's in the summer of 1772.

Instructions were forthwith dispatched to Mr. Leyborn, governor in chief of the southern Caribbée Islands, consisting of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, and Tobago, directing him to give every support, and employ the whole force within his government, subject to the disposal of a special council commissioned directly by the King, for conduct of the business in St. Vincent's.

Sir William Young, governor of Dominica, was named president of this council. He received his instructions from Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State, on

June 4th, 1772 ; and two days after set sail for Martinique, in order to hold a conference with the Governor, Count de Nosiere, and prevent assistance from that quarter being given to the Charaibs. The result of this interview will appear from the following extract of a letter to Lord Hillsborough, dated July 28, 1772.

“ The Count de Nosiere said,—“ that  
 “ he had heard reports that his Majesty had  
 “ resolved to reduce the Charaibs to his  
 “ sovereignty and pleasure, a resolution  
 “ he conceived very proper, and *essential*  
 “ *to the security of his subjects in St. Vin-*  
 “ *cent's*. He observed, that it was impos-  
 “ sible for him to prevent private traders  
 “ in the French islands from selling arms  
 “ and ammunition to any person who  
 “ shall bring money to pay for them ;  
 “ but that I might rest fully assured, that  
 “ he would not furnish any aid or suc-  
 “ cours whatever to the Charaibs: that

“ he should hold such treatment dishonourable and inconsistent with his duty :  
 “ but that on the contrary, if any should  
 “ apply to him on the occasion, *which*  
 “ *was not improbable*, he should strongly  
 “ recommend to them an entire submission to his Britannic Majesty’s sovereignty and government. The island  
 “ of St. Vincent’s (he said) was now his,  
 “ and it was their duty to submit.” I  
 “ asked him, whether he would authorize  
 “ me to express this from him to your  
 “ Lordship officially? He replied—“ by  
 “ all means,” &c. &c.

The Count de Nosiere appears to have been an officer of that high honour which characterized the ancient military of France ; and this conversation is the more remarkable, as in the very claim of good faith and neutrality on his own part, he intimates not only a general connection between the Charaibs and French of Martinique, but even the habitual recurrence

of that people for advice and aid to the government itself.

Sir William Young arrived in St. Vincent's on June the 11th, 1772 ; the troops, to be under command of Major General Dalrymple, were not fully assembled in that island till the beginning of September following.

In the mean time the Charaibs were not idle or unprepared. Some small vessels being sent in the month of August on an expedition to coast round and examine the country ; the report, dated the 25th of that month, represents, that on each landing place, or strong headland, parties of Charaibs appeared in arms, and that the vessels on approaching the shore were repeatedly fired on, and any landing prevented.

During this interval of mutual preparation, the colony remained in gloomy tranquillity.

The planters remained attentive to

each sound of alarm, and cautious and busy on their plantations.

The Charaibs forebore any inroad or attack : indeed their best resource lay in a defensive war : and to this they were well advised. The rugged face of the country, the almost impenetrable woods, and above all the approaching rainy season, would serve them to best advantage in a protracted campaign : mere delay would probably be fatal to British troops, forced to extraordinary fatigues under the strong vicissitude of sultry suns, and torrents of rain, and exposed to pestilential vapours, in an uncleared country so fatal to the European constitution.

In delay too, the Charaib fostered his hopes of a French war, and of allies that might warrant their expectations of successful resistance, and of victory.

The British troops, artillery, and stores being arrived in St. Vincent's, an attempt was once more made to avert hostilities;

and a proclamation issued Sept. 7, 1772, repeating the terms heretofore offered to the Charaibs by the commissioners in 1771, and denouncing the King's displeasure, and vengeance on the refractory and hostile.

The Charaibs were not (as hoped for and expected) intimidated into an acceptance of the terms proposed, by a view of the force to be employed against them.

On the 24th of September, the British troops were put in motion, and a detachment proceeded to take post at Jambou. I shall not lengthen out this pamphlet by details of military operation, during the five months of the Charaib war. It may be necessary, however, to observe, that it appears to have been so long protracted, by the humane and cautious system on which the campaign was conducted. Enterprizes of mere ravage and slaughter in the Charaib country, seem

at no time to have entered into the plan of this war. The General sought gradually to attain and establish military posts throughout the country, so as to hem in the Charaibs in their several districts, prevent their communication, control all their motions, and finally necessitate their submission. These posts were fully established by Jan. 25, 1793,\* and had the promised effect of inducing the Charaibs to demand a parley, and negotiate terms, which were the basis of the following treaty.

*St. Vincent's Gazette, February 27, 1773.*

“ On Wednesday the 17th inst. a number of Charaibs came into the grand camp at Macaricau, and a treaty of

\* An account of these posts is given in the Appendix, together with a return of the army and its contingencies; from which it will appear how much its losses were exaggerated from prejudice or for party purposes in these times.

“ peace and friendship was then concluded  
 “ by his Excellency General Dalrymple,  
 “ on the part of his Britannic Majesty,  
 “ and by the chiefs of Grand Sable, Mas-  
 “ siraca, Rabacca, Macaricau, Byera,  
 “ Coubamarou, Jambou, Colonrie, Ca-  
 “ macarabou, Ouarawarou, and Point Es-  
 “ pagniol, for themselves, and the rest of  
 “ their people.—The Articles of which  
 “ treaty are as follow :

“ I. All hostile proceedings to cease ;  
 “ a firm and lasting peace and friendship  
 “ to succeed.

“ II. The Charaibs shall acknowledge  
 “ his Majesty to be the rightful sovereign  
 “ of the island and domain of St. Vincent’s ;  
 “ take an oath of fidelity to him as their  
 “ King ; promise absolute submission to  
 “ his will, and lay down their arms.

“ III. They shall submit themselves  
 “ to the laws and obedience of his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s government, with power to

“ the Governor to enact further regula-  
 “ tions for the public advantage as shall  
 “ be convenient. (This article only re-  
 “ spectes their transactions with his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s subjects, not being Indians, their  
 “ intercourse and customs with each  
 “ other, in the quarters allotted them  
 “ not being affected by it.) And all new  
 “ regulations to receive his Majesty’s  
 “ Governor’s approbation before carried  
 “ into execution.

“ IV. A portion of lands, hereafter  
 “ mentioned, to be allotted for the resi-  
 “ dence of the Charaibs, viz. from the  
 “ river Byera to Point Espagniol on the  
 “ one side, and from the river Analibou  
 “ to Point Espagniol on the other side,  
 “ according to lines to be drawn by his  
 “ Majesty’s surveyors, from the sources  
 “ of the rivers to the tops of the moun-  
 “ tains ; the rest of the lands, formerly  
 “ inhabited by Charaibs, for the future to  
 “ belong entirely to his Majesty.

“ V. Those lands not to be alienated,  
“ either by sale, lease, or otherwise, but  
“ to persons properly authorized by his  
“ Majesty to receive them.

“ VI. Roads, ports, batteries, and com-  
“ munications to be made as his Majesty  
“ pleases.

“ VII. No undue intercourse with the  
“ French islands to be allowed.

“ VIII. Runaway slaves in the pos-  
“ session of the Charaibs are to be deli-  
“ vered up, and endeavours used to dis-  
“ cover and apprehend the others; and  
“ an engagement, in future, not to en-  
“ courage, receive, or harbour any slave  
“ whatever: forfeiture of lands for har-  
“ bouring; and carrying off the island a  
“ capital crime.

“ IX. Persons guilty of capital crimes  
“ against the English are to be delivered up.

“ X. In time of danger to be aiding  
“ and assisting to his Majesty's subjects  
“ against their enemies.

“ XI. The three chains to remain to  
“ his Majesty.

“ XII. All conspiracies and plots a-  
“ gainst his Majesty, or his government,  
“ to be made known to his Governor, or  
“ other civil magistrates.

“ XIII. Leave (if required) to be  
“ given to the Charaibs to depart this  
“ island, with their families and proper-  
“ ties, and assistance in their transpor-  
“ tation.

“ XIV. Free access to the quarters  
“ allowed to the Charaibs, to be given  
“ to persons properly empowered in pur-  
“ suit of runaway slaves, and safe con-  
“ duct afforded them.

“ XV. Deserters from his Majesty’s  
“ service (if any), and runaway slaves  
“ from the French, to be delivered up, in  
“ order that they may be returned to  
“ their masters.

“ XVI. The chiefs of the different

“ quarters are to render an account of  
 “ the names and number of the inhabi-  
 “ tants of their respective districts.

“ XVII. The chiefs, and other Cha-  
 “ raibs, inhabitants, to attend the Gover-  
 “ nor when required for his Majesty’s  
 “ service.

“ XVIII. All possible facility, consis-  
 “ tent with the laws of Great Britain, to  
 “ be afforded to the Charaibs in the sale  
 “ of their produce, and in their trade to  
 “ the different British islands.

“ XIX. Entire liberty of fishing, as  
 “ well on the coast of St. Vincent’s, as at  
 “ the neighbouring keys, to be allowed  
 “ them.

“ XX. In all cases, when the Cha-  
 “ raibs conceive themselves injured by  
 “ his Majesty’s other subjects, or other  
 “ persons, and are desirous of having re-  
 “ ference to the laws, or to the civil ma-  
 “ gistrates, an agent, being one of his

“ Majesty’s natural born subjects, may  
 “ be employed by themselves, or if more  
 “ agreeable at his Majesty’s cost.

“ XXI. No strangers, or white persons,  
 “ to be permitted to settle among  
 “ the Charaibs, without permission obtained  
 “ in writing from the Governor.

“ XXII. These articles subscribed to  
 “ and observed, the Charaibs are to be  
 “ pardoned, secured, and fixed in their  
 “ property, according to his Majesty’s  
 “ directions given, and all past offences  
 “ forgot.

“ XXIII. After the signing of this  
 “ treaty, should any of the Charaibs refuse  
 “ to observe the condition of it, they  
 “ are to be considered and treated as  
 “ enemies by both parties, and the most  
 “ effectual means used to reduce them.

“ XXIV. The Charaibs shall take the  
 “ following oath, viz.

“ We A. B. do swear, in the name of the  
 “ immortal God, and Christ Jesus, that

“ we will bear true allegiance to his  
 “ Majesty George the Third, of Great  
 “ Britain, France, and Ireland, King,  
 “ defender of the faith ; and that we  
 “ will pay due obedience to the laws  
 “ of Great Britain, and the Island of  
 “ St. Vincent’s ; and will well and truly  
 “ observe every article of the treaty  
 “ concluded between his said Majesty  
 “ and the Charaibs ; and we do ac-  
 “ knowledge, that his said Majesty  
 “ is rightful Lord and Sovereign of all  
 “ the Island of St. Vincent’s, and that  
 “ the lands held by us the Charaibs,  
 “ are granted through his Majesty’s  
 “ clemency.

“ On the part of his Majesty,

“ W. DALRYMPLE.

“ On the part of the Charaibs.

“ Jean Baptiste.	Simon.
“ Dufont Begot.	Lalime, Senior.
“ Boyordell.	Baüamont.
“ Dirang.	Justin Baüamont.

" Chatoyér.	Matthieu.
" Doucre Baramont.	Jean Louis Pacquin.
" Lalime, Junior.	Gadel Goibau.
" Broca.	John Baptiste.
" Saioe.	Lonen.
" François Laron.	Boyüdon.
" Saint Laron.	Du Vallet.
" Anisette.	Boucharie.
" Clement.	Deruba Babilliard.
" Bigott.	Canaia."

This treaty, framed on the basis of those propositions originally suggested by the commissioners, declares and defines the situation of the Charaibs in respect to the crown of Great Britain ;—their relative duties and rights, allegiance and protection.

The future conduct of the Charaibs is to be tried by the terms of this treaty, and it only remains to exact the conditions of forfeiture, as known to our laws, and to the rules of all civilized society,

with a temper of Christian mercy, and British benevolence. Unless a repetition of crime cancels obligations to honesty, and pardon to the treasons of 1779 may be impleaded on those of 1795, the Charaib lands are forfeit ; and it remains only so to deal with the people, as may render the lives and properties of our British fellow-subjects in St. Vincent's secure by the justice of our laws ; whilst the Charaibs have life, liberty, and sustenance, from the lenity and from the bounty of our Government.

Humanity requires this ; and a further detail will shew, that in good policy, and in the general dispensation of justice, more cannot be conceded to them.

By letters from the surveyors employed, subsequent to the treaty, in continuing the road through the Charaib country, it appears, that they were occasionally menaced by certain Charaibs, and at times impeded in their progress :

on these interruptions, different parleys were held with the chiefs, and a sort of compromise seems to have taken place in May, 1773; the roads being perfected only to certain stations, and not generally brought to intersect the country as at first intended. In course of the summer, the work as far as latterly proposed was completed; and military posts were established at Byabou, Calonery, Rabica, Ouwia, &c. with proper roads of communication.

During five years from date of the Charaib treaty, the British colony was undisturbed by the Charaibs; the chief intercourse with them seems to have been in the markets of Kingston, where the Charaib women brought their poultry, fruit, and casada bread, for sale; and it might be supposed that such habits of dealing would induce a sense of mutual advantage, and that the Charaibs were become domesticated with the Eng-

lish, and finally attached to them as fellow-subjects, and content with their government.

The very hour of a French war shewed how delusive were these hopes! In 1778, France declared war against England. Not a day was lost to treason. In 1778, the Charaibs invited French spies into St. Vincent's, to inspect the weakness of the colony, and concert the plan of its destruction. One of these French emissaries named Percin la Rocque, venturing from the Charaib boundary, was taken, brought before the Governor, and committed to gaol. He soon after escaped from prison, and shewed the nature and business of his visit to St. Vincent's, when in June, 1779, he headed the Charaibs in their attack on the British outposts stationed within their country, or on the borders; some French troops at the same time making good a landing to leeward. The British colony hemmed

in on all sides, made but a feeble resistance, and St. Vincent's was lost to the crown of Great Britain. Count D'Estaing commanding in chief, to shew the high sense he entertained of the Charaib services in this enterprize appointed their friend and leader, Percin la Rocque, to be Lieutenant Governor of St. Vincent's: the Charaibs returned the compliment with active service: when in December, 1780, the British armament, under Sir John Vaughan and Lord Rodney appeared off Calliaqua with a view to recover the island, the Charaibs emulously assembled in arms to assist the French in defending their conquest. Nor was this all: the Charaibs did not confine themselves to a display of attachment towards the French; but marked their antipathy to the English, on every occasion of insult and cruelty. The humane temper of the French officers interposed, restrained the Charaibs from excess of outrage, and even punished them in some instances: but I am well

informed, that such a savage spirit of disgust and enmity towards the English *then* appeared in the Charaibs, however controlled by the French government, as might warrant future distrust and alarm in the bravest of our British planters.—How brave they are—let their gallant and loyal conduct in 1795, speak in honour to themselves and to their mother country: its armies have had its public thanks; surely its colony of St. Vincent's deserves them!

In the year 1780, a most dreadful hurricane laid waste the whole island of St. Vincent's: every cane was torn up from the ground—every building was laid low—every property was destroyed. The British planters labouring for the sustenance of themselves and Negroes, and for restoration of their estates from the effects of this dreadful calamity, had in their season of poverty and depression some respite from rapacity, and a more than ordinary plea to protection from a

benevolent conqueror ; and that protection, to those engrossed by the ruin of their fortunes, and of but ordinary sagacity and foresight, covered the evil spirit and malignity of *those* whom it checked, and controlled from overt acts of violence. It remained for time to develop general character, from partial and successive instances. It was not easy to persuade an honest Englishman that an entire nation could be perfidious and cruel. He could admit no such opinion from mere circumstances ; he was doomed to adopt it from fatal experience. Myself with others have been deceived.

In 1783, by treaty of peace with France, the island of St. Vincent's was restored to the crown of Great Britain, and therewith the Charaibs returned to its dominion, without any specification of conditions, on which they were so returned.

Let the conduct of the British Government be reviewed on this occasion. Did

it raise the sword of justice? or did it even implead its laws of forfeiture? did it enforce one penalty on the treasons of the Charaibs? No!—it did not: it treated them as an ignorant and deluded people, whose conduct needed compassion rather than pardon; and who were to be acquitted (as by a jury on insanity) in humane consideration of weakness and of folly. A veil was thrown over the whole scene of perfidy; and the offended spirit of Government professed in its lenity to forget, what in its constitutional justice it might not dare to forgive.

Let the conduct of the British planters in St. Vincent's be revised too on this occasion—Did they act with a vindictive spirit of retaliation? did they show a temper of resentment? did they show even an indifference of regard? No!—they returned good for evil, and treated the Charaibs with a benevolent attention, and with bounties; by which even their

best services in the late war would have been amply repaid.

I pass by instances of courtesy and private hospitality ; but some of a more general tendency should be noticed.

Hereditary feuds and animosities existed amongst many of the Charaib families, which, though ever laid aside in times of general war, and against a common enemy, were as constantly resumed in times of peace ;—*pristina mala postquàm foris deerant, domi quærere*, belongs to this people, in common with others, and with the greater nation described by Livy.

Whilst the French possessed the island of St. Vincent's, many of the weaker parties had fled the Charaib boundary, and settled on English estates in the neighbourhood. The English, when again in power, not only on application permitted them to remain on their lands, rent-free, and without conditional service, but gave them every assistance ; and their canoes

being of use in shipping articles of the estates, they engaged them on the most liberal terms, and which allowed to each Charaib a Spanish dollar for the day.

In the town of Kingston a marked attention was shewn to the Charaibs who brought articles for sale ; I should say rather Charaib women, who, laden like beasts of burden, were driven with the flat of the broad sword from the Charaib boundary, fifteen miles, to the English market. No slavery is equally wretched with that of the Charaib women ; but no better proof can be stated of the satisfaction given in this respect, than the increased numbers of these women, and their lordly drivers, resorting progressively to the English market.

The chief Chatoyér, with his brother Du Vallée, were assisted by loans or sureties of English gentlemen, enabling them to clear and cultivate a larger portion of lands ; and each of them by these means

had purchased slaves, and was comparatively rich.

The beautiful garden island near Calliaqua, called Young Island, with a convenient villa built on it, was by the proprietor allowed for the Charaibs to refresh, or sleep upon, going to, or returning from Kingston ; and occasionally as a station for their fisheries.

The chief Chatoyér and his family, or tribe, in particular, received the most flattering attentions and hospitality from that gentleman and his family: himself and people had ever accommodation at the house, and on the estate of Calliaqua ; and when Chatoyér fell, in March 1795, fighting against the English on Dorsetshire Hill, his hand grasped a silver-mounted broad sword, engraved with the arms of that family, and valued as a memorial of the gallant Lieutenant Henry Young, of the 62d regiment, who fell with it in his hand at Saratoga, and which

would never have been given by his brother to Chatoyér, but on the faith of his employing it in loyal service to the King, and (as he promised) in particular defence of the family and its interests.

To enumerate further acts of conciliation, and of bounty towards the Charaibs, would extend this Essay beyond its original design. How far they were vain and nugatory, will appear from an anecdote too remarkable, and too strongly noting a rooted and envenomed antipathy to the English, to be here omitted.

Soon after the treaty in 1773, Captain Gordon, with consent of the family, which was of considerable influence and note, took a Charaib boy, of the name of Peter, into his house, and with intent to educate him, and engage him in his service. Peter Gordon (for so the boy was thenceforward named) accompanied his patron and kind master to England, and afterwards, on that officer being called to Gibraltar,

served with him during the whole of the memorable siege of that fortress.

From what accident, or from what motives I am not informed, but in the beginning of the year 1788 Peter Gordon returned to St. Vincent's, and immediately joined his family in the Charaib district.

Peter had left St. Vincent's too young to have imbibed his country's prejudices, and having been treated with the greatest kindness by his late master, and having been a social favourite with the brave soldiery at Gibraltar, he truly loved the English ; and he would with earnest gratitude talk to his countrymen of their good faith and kindness, and of their power and wealth in London, and of their valour at Gibraltar. A character of disciplined bravery, a mind enlightened by European intercourse and travel, and a natural eloquence, gave him an ascendancy with his tribe ; and become the British advocate with his country-

men, he had shewn an influence, occasionally, conducive to the peace of the colony, and to the interests of Government. The legislature of St. Vincent's in honourable retribution, voted a reward to the Charaib, Peter Gordon—that vote was the warrant of Peter's death! Soon after going on the sea with a numerous party of Charaibs, they reported, on their return, that Peter Gordon's canoe was sunk, and himself drowned. Of a large fleet of canoes, none other but that of Peter Gordon's was sunk :—*and why was not Peter Gordon saved?* It is not easy to suppose that a Charaib, who swims readily as he walks, should be drowned with any one canoe in sight!

A retrospect to this and to many past circumstances, might well render the inhabitants of St. Vincent's not wholly unprepared for the consequences of another war with France.

As soon as intelligence arrived in March

1793, of the French declaration of hostilities, the governor of St. Vincent's called together his council, and took every precaution to prevent communications with Martinique, and to secure the fidelity of the Charaibs. The chiefs were invited to meet the governor and council at Kingston, and a feast was on the occasion given them at the public expence. Their treaty of 1773 was then article by article recapitulated to them; compensation offered them for any tobacco or other articles they proposed selling at Martinique; and their grievances inquired into, which reduced to a single instance of trespass in the cutting some wood on the lands of Chatoyér, the attorney-general, Mr. Keane was ordered to prosecute, and Chatoyér received forty pounds damages.

There were more than one of these feasts and conferences, and the Charaibs returned home from each with every

assurance of peaceable conduct, and of fidelity to their engagements.

The expeditions from Great Britain in 1793, and the very superior force by sea and land throughout the West Indies the following year, for a time kept all quiet in St. Vincent's.

The Charaibs, awed and depressed by the view of the British force, assumed a mien and language well suited to lull the caution of the wisest, who were not acquainted with the perfidy of their character; and even those who knew them best, were so inclined to hope for their reformation, that prudence nearly gave way; and but for the alarm-bell which sounded from Grenada on the 5th of March, 1795, it is probable St. Vincent's might have been taken by surprise, and in the result (now authenticated) every English subject, even to the child at the breast, was to have been murdered, and our nation been extirpated from the island.

On the 5th of March the intelligence from Grenada induced the Governor of St. Vincent's to call out the militia, and to declare martial law.

Different persons were sent round to address the Charaibs, and sound their intentions on subject of the alarm. The answer given by the Charaibs at Massaricau is remarkable, its accuracy cannot be doubted, being taken from the narrative published in St. Vincent's under the respectable authority of D. Ottley, and H. Sharpe, Esquires.

The spokesmen of the Charaibs—" expressed their astonishment at the suspicions entertained against them: they had been already once deceived by the French, and pardoned by us for their misconduct during the last war: since the peace they had been treated with the utmost kindness and humanity. They in particular residing within the boundary, had been protected against

“ their enemies in the Charaib country !  
 “ had been allowed to live on the lands  
 “ of the English, and to occupy as much  
 “ as was necessary for their support, with-  
 “ out paying rent, or receiving molesta-  
 “ tion : no possible advantage could be  
 “ derived by their making war against  
 “ us, and no pardon expected if they  
 “ should attempt it : they could not  
 “ answer for the conduct of the Grand  
 “ Sable Charaibs, but they had receiv-  
 “ ed no intimation from them of an in-  
 “ tention to disturb the peace of the  
 “ colony.”

The reader who has attended to the  
 very peculiar system of Charaib perfidy,  
 noted in former pages of this Essay, will  
 not be surprised to find, in continuance  
 of this quotation, that three days after,  
 —“ These very men *were the foremost* in  
 “ the attack upon the inhabitants of the  
 “ plantation where the conversation had  
 “ passed, and where they had lived, and

“ had been encouraged and supported for  
 “ ten years past.”

It is further remarkable, that on Sunday, March 8th (only two days before the general attack), a more than ordinary number of Charaibs crowded to Kingston market with different articles for sale, and assumed a more than common air of social ease and festivity.

Unhappily this conduct, and these circumstances, produced a confidence fatal to many ; yet let not indolence or presumption be too hastily imputed to the unhappy victims ; the attack was so unprovoked, the ravage was so unprofitable, the barbarity so excessive, that to entertain a previous suspicion of it, in its full extent, was not within the computation of every good mind ; and some might think to avert the ruin of their fortunes by remaining on their estates ; and pleading to those whom they had benefited, to incur at least no personal hazard.

On the 10th of March, 1795, and following days, the Charaibs from different quarters made incursion like a torrent of fire into the settlements of the English ; the canes, ripe throughout the land, nourished the conflagration, the Negroes fled their huts, moaning for their murdered fellows, and the route of the savage hord was literally marked out by a line of flame and massacre.

I will not expatiate on instances of cruelty in this dreadful career from the Charaib boundary to Dorsetshire Hill, where it received its check from British valour : the following proclamation found in the pocket of the chief Chatoyér, who there, on the 14th of March, fell by the bayonet of the brave Major Leith of the St. Vincent's militia, will fully declare the purpose of this attack ; and that purpose was but too faithfully executed in rapine and in murder, as far as occasion offered.

*Copy of the Declaration of Joseph Chatoyer, Chief of the Charaibs.*

*Chateau-bellair, the 12th day of March,  
and the 1st year of our Liberty.*

“ Where is the Frenchman who will  
 “ not join his brothers, at a moment when  
 “ the voice of liberty is heard by them?  
 “ Let us then unite, citizens and brothers,  
 “ round the colours flying in this island ;  
 “ and let us hasten to co-operate to that  
 “ great piece of work which has been  
 “ already commenced so gloriously. But  
 “ should any timorous men still exist,  
 “ should any Frenchman be held back  
 “ through fear, we do hereby declare to  
 “ them, in the name of the law, that  
 “ those who will not be assembled with  
 “ us in the course of the day, shall be  
 “ deemed traitors to the country, and  
 “ treated as enemies. We do swear that

“ both fire and sword shall be employed  
 “ against them, that we are going to burn  
 “ their estates, and that we will murder  
 “ their wives and children, in order to  
 “ annihilate their race.”

The dreadful and atrocious purpose of general massacre declared in this proclamation, and “ that those French who resist  
 “ the invitation shall be treated *as enemies*  
 “ (that is *as English*), their estates burnt,  
 “ and themselves, wives, and children,  
 “ murdered,” cannot but, as it excites horror, arrest the chief attention.—But let me call that attention to another point of view ; to the language of a Charaib chief, under French nomination and authority, commanding an united army of French and Charaibs, and in direct terms calling on those French, *as brothers and as countrymen*, who themselves, or their fathers, in 1765, received their estates, and the liberties and rights of Eng-

lishmen, from the bounty of the King of Great Britain.

I have avoided in disgust, all details of massacre ; they would fill a long and melancholy page ; and the list of unfeeling and unprovoked slaughters might be closed with the last act of the savage life of Chatoyér ; who, on his arrival at Dorsetshire Hill, had three prisoners brought forth (a blacksmith and two other English, whom he had taken unarmed some days before at Chatteaubellair), and himself hewed them to pieces, in wanton trial of the British sword which had been given him, and with a cruel art (as represented by a Negroe present), which protracted the agonies of death to half an hour !\*

One further circumstance it is neces-

\* Chatoyér reviled these unhappy victims, and the English nation, at each blow of the sabre, in exactly the same manner the Saracen Argante used the sword given

sary to mention, and place in its true light; when it is told, that on the irruption into the plantations, Mr. Forbes was murdered, and his wife spared, and afterwards returned in exchange for a Charaib prisoner, it is to be remembered, that Mrs. Forbes was a catholic, was educated at Martinique, and speaking French as a French woman, was probably supposed to be one, and may have owed her life to that circumstance,

by a Christian chief, as described by Tasso. When attacking the Christians, Argante exclaimed:—

“ Questa sanguigna spada è quella stessa

“ Ch’ il signor vostro mi donò pur ieri ;

“ Ditegli come in uso oggi l’ho messa,

“ Ch’ udirà la novella ei volentieri,

“ E caro esser gli dee, che’l suo bel dono

“ S’è conosciuto al paragon sì buono ;

“ Ditegli che vederne omai s’aspetti

“ Nelle viscere sue più certa prova ;

“ E quando d’assalirne ei non s’affretti,

“ Verrò non aspettato ov’ei si trova.”

Thanks to Major Leith, the donor of the British sword has no more to apprehend from the Charaib Argante.

A detail of military operations enters not into the design of this Essay.

Thanks to Almighty God!—we have *now* intelligence, that by the bravery of his Majesty's troops, aided by the loyal and gallant militia of St. Vincent's, and by their faithful Negroes in arms, after four months severe conflict, the French force has been subdued and wholly destroyed; and the Charaibs driven back to their woods.

In open war, and prepared with arms in their hands, I doubt not the loyal and brave planters, with proper military aid, continuing to retain, for their King and country, the sovereignty of St. Vincent's.

But they cannot in peace set down to restore their ravaged estates;—their resources are gone,—their credit with British merchants is lost, whilst the Charaibs remain in the island, at pleasure to de-

stroy,—and *whose forbearance can never more be trusted.*

And now, to sum up the inference of this short but eventful history of thirty years!

Sad and fatal experience has shewn that the combination of barbarous and of national enmity is not to be broken, and that the Charaib will ever be French.

Were peace with France to be proclaimed at this very hour, yet a foresight of destruction to every property on so ordinary a contingency as another war, must sicken all industry, and preclude all loans and commercial credit.

But even the interval, ere hostilities may again commence, is a season of danger to the British planter.

In the very sense of his past outrages, the Charaib will embitter his mind with stronger animosities, and satiate his antipathy with secret mischiefs.

The perpetrator of unprovoked wrongs forgives not the sufferer ; him whom he hath wantonly attacked, he will maliciously persecute : the planter has to fear that his canes will be burnt in the night, and himself or his child shot from behind the bush.

It is the protection of laws which, in securing property, gives life to industry ; no one will labour the field, if all may take the crop, or (what is the same), if any may *destroy it*.

Other considerations must operate yet more forcibly than those of property.

A national antipathy, aggravated by savage manners and disposition, is too terrible in neighbourhood to the father of an English family.

The participation of a small district hemmed in by the seas, with a people whom law can never reach, and of savage manners, must be ever dangerous ; and

if they have antipathies to us, founded in attachments to our enemy, *must in the end be fatal.*

What bold adventurer will *now* plant a cane?—or who will *now* hazard his wife or child, where the cruel and perfidious Charaib may prowl at pleasure?

These truths are so powerfully urged by late events, that without interposition of the strong hand of Government, it is to be feared that the most healthy, rich, and beautiful island of St. Vincent's may, to all intents of national advantage, be lost to the crown of Great Britain.

Mere regulations respecting the Charaibs can no longer be deemed effectual.

Laws cannot reach them in their woods.

The British planter can no more trust to professions.

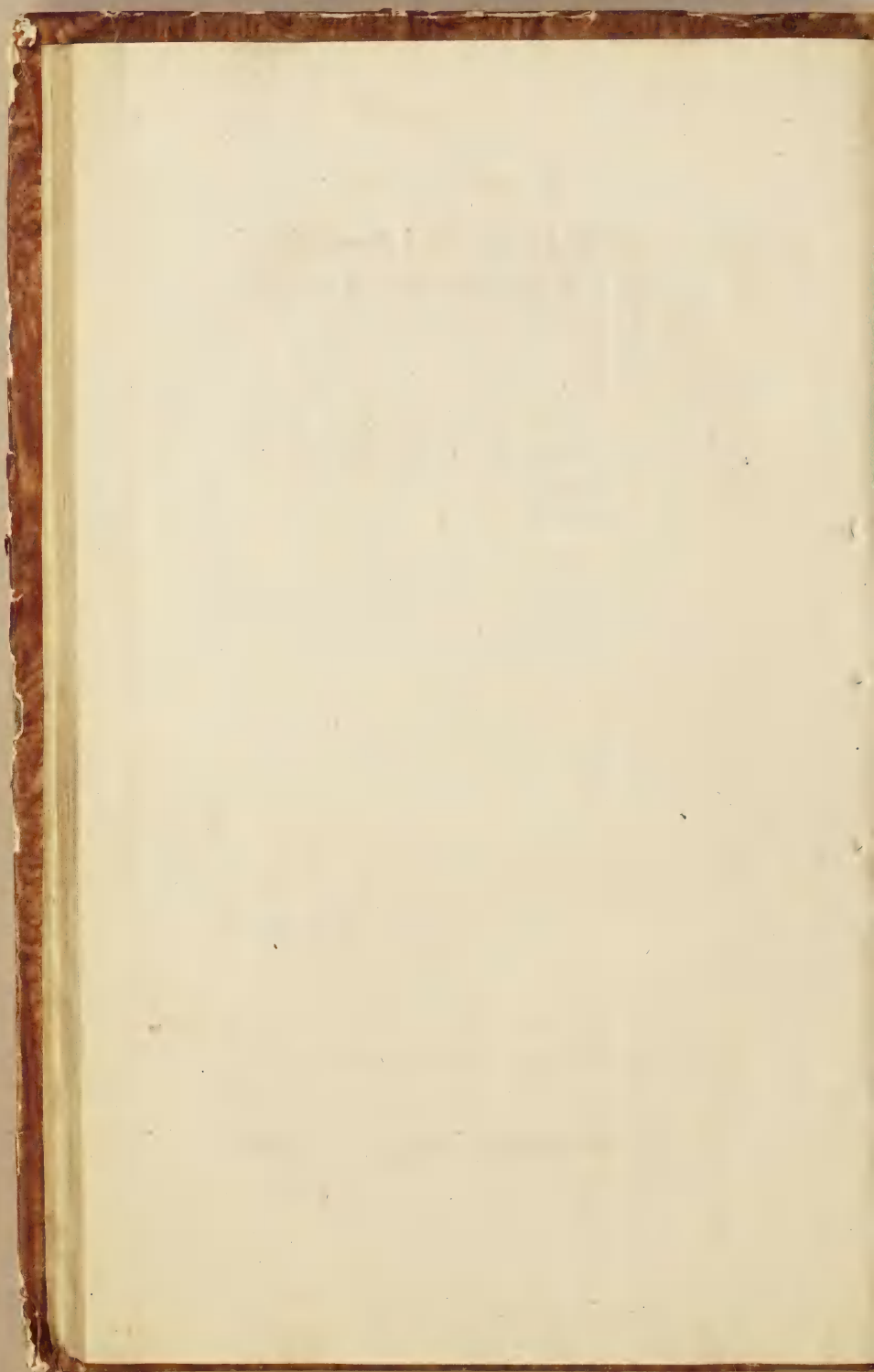
The nation can have no further confidence in treaty.

Under all these circumstances and con-

siderations, the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent's, in the instructions to their agent in London, declare the sole alternative to be,—

*“ That the British planters, or the Black Charaibs, must be removed from off the island of St. Vincent's.”*

FINIS.



RPJCH

## APPENDIX.

STATE and STATIONS of his Majesty's FORCES in St. Vincent's the 25th Jan. 1773.

Major General.	Lt. Col.	Major.	Captains.	Subal-terns.	Adjutts.	Quarters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Seaman.	Drummers & Fifers.	Rank & File.
Royal Artillery	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	5	—	12
The 6th.	1	1	7	14	—	—	1	1	1	12	345
14th.	—	1	4	12	1	1	1	1	19	11	342
31st.	—	1	3	11	1	1	1	1	18	9	308
32d. Regiment	—	1	4	6	1	1	1	1	20	12	244
50th.	—	1	5	15	1	1	1	1	18	11	333
60th.	—	1	3	10	—	—	1	1	12	8	165
68th.	—	1	3	7	—	—	1	—	19	11	351
70th.	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	5	2	85
Marines	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	5	4	106
Total	1	7	32	81	4	5	8	6	140	80	2273

## DISTRIBUTION.

At Coubaïmarou, Janbou, Bayabou, Macaricau, Massaricau, Canacaribou, Canlonette, and the posts intermediate and adjacent.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
At Grand Sable, under the command of Major McKenzie	1	5	19	42	1	2	1	1	53	38	904	—
Reinforcing and guarding the Artillery	—	1	5	14	1	—	1	—	24	9	454	—
Officers to Meyer's Black Rangers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	52	—
Artificers, Bakers, Clerks to Hospitals, Pioneers making cartridges, Servants, Sutlers, and bat and orderly men	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	8	—
Overscers of slaves and mules	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	65	—
At Fort Tyrrell	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	8	—
At Kingstown Barrack	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	—
In Kingstown Bay, part of the 6th and 50th regiments	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	4	5	36	—
Staff Officers	1	—	2	6	—	2	1	4	4	—	7	39
At Prince's Bay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	6	—
At St. David's	—	—	1	10	—	—	1	1	12	1	8	165
On Mount Sirach	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	26
In Queen's Valley	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	17
In Cumberland Valley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	35
Marines.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	446
At St. David's	—	—	—	2	5	—	1	—	22	—	—	—
Sick, Wounded, and Convalescents	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1	1	7	32	81	4	5	8	140	80	2273	—

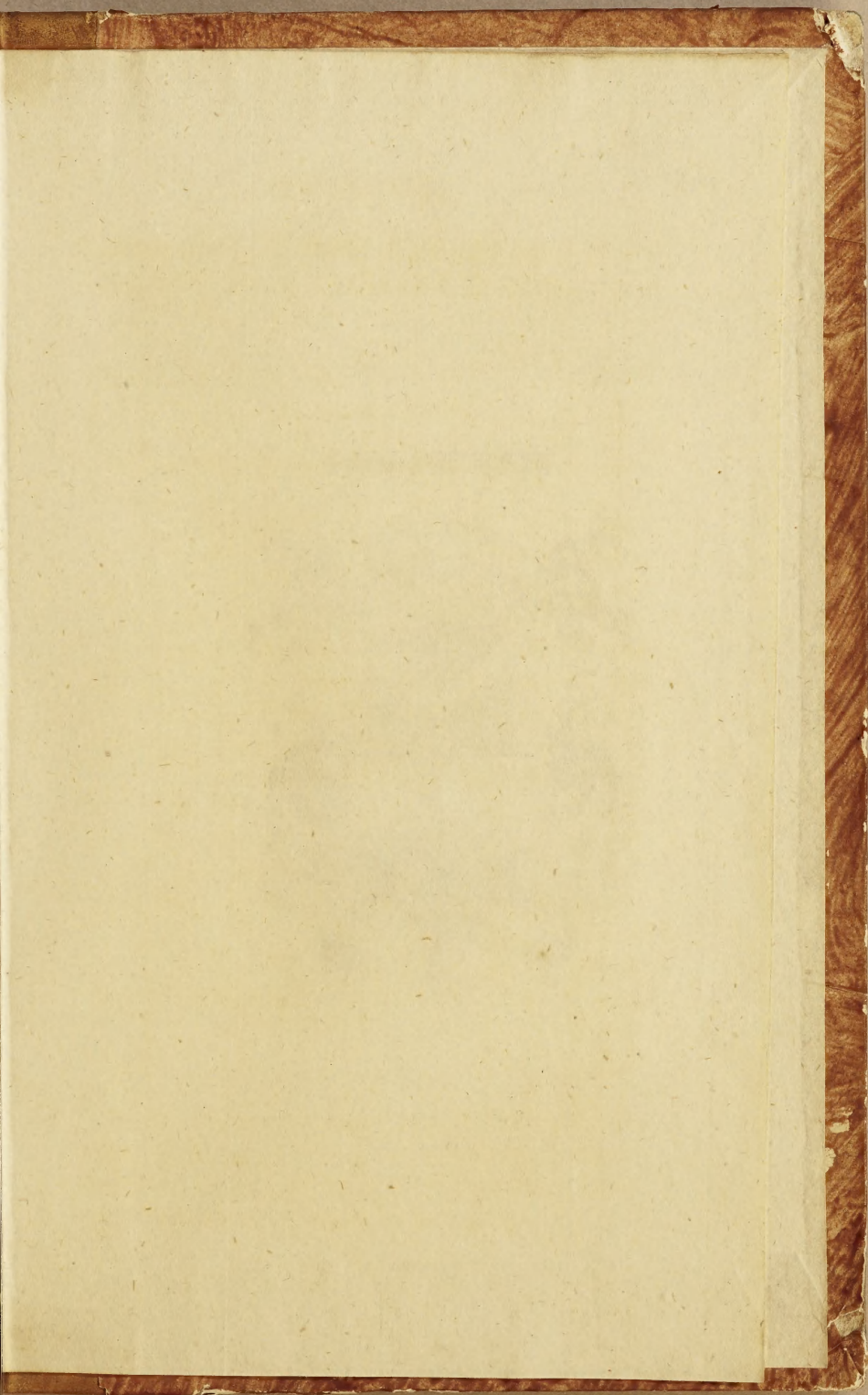
# APPENDIX.

EFFECTIVE STRENGTH of the different Military Posts in the Indian Country, the 25th Jan. 1773.

Number of posts.	DISTRIBUTION.				Rank & File.
No.					
1	Coubamarou	-	-	-	20
2	Babie's	-	-	-	11
3	Bolieu's	-	-	-	10
4	Jambou	-	-	-	20
5	Morne Loüan	-	-	-	20
6	In front of Morne Loüan	-	-	-	16
7	In rear of Fort Dalrymple	-	-	-	20
8	Fort Dalrymple, at Bayabou	-	-	-	54
9	In front of Fort Dalrymple	-	-	-	13
10	Macaricau	-	-	-	411
11	Massaricau	-	-	-	77
12	Camacarabou	-	-	-	54
13	La Colonie	-	-	-	178
					904
14	Grand Sable	-	-	-	454
					1358

Since the commencement of this expedition, died 48—killed 26—drowned 19—deserted 5—wounded 43—sick at this time 337—effective 1780 rank and file.

35327





D795

Y78a

John Carter Brown.

